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ON
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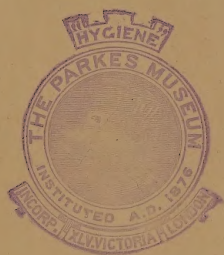
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International Health Exhibition.

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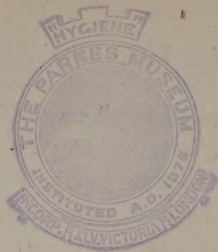
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SECTION C.

ORGANISATION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.

MONDAY, AUGUST 4, 2 P.M.

Chairman : Dr. ZERFFI, F.R.H.S.

LONDON UNIVERSITY TEACHING CON- SIDERED FROM THE MODERN SIDE.

By Professor HENRY MORLEY, LL.D.

I AM asked to write for this Conference a paper on "A Faculty of Arts ; Teaching ; Subdivision of Degrees, &c., considered from the Modern Side." Any ideas I may have on that subject are inevitably associated with the whole question of University Teaching and of University Degrees. Inseparable from the history of thought in our past, present, and future, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have to be maintained in strength, like our cathedrals, with a jealous guarding of their characteristic features from officious zeal of the restorer. It would be of no use for me to reason about them ; and of no use to construct an ideal of some University in the clouds. " Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole," let me be content to suggest, as a teacher in London, how we might not only conceive but bring into life among ourselves a Faculty of Arts, with far-

reaching powers applied to all uses of modern civilisation ; how it might teach ; how its degrees might be subdivided, and how granted ; and how easily, if we assent generally to the plan, we can go to work to-morrow to secure its realisation.

In London, from one point of view, there are two things to be seen clearly. One is, the presence of many and various aids towards the higher education, that, if harmonised into one system and thenceforward developed with a reasonable unity of purpose, would of themselves, so far as the Modern Side of education is concerned, suffice to provide us with the greatest Teaching University in the world. The other thing to be seen clearly is, that London has a University which examines but does not teach ; although by its examinations it exerts large influence upon teaching, and in this respect has, for all England, a function peculiarly its own.

Now all progress depends upon full use of the power of grouping and uniting, for some new purpose of gain, conditions that have arisen independently, and that are daily arising, with little or no reference to the purposes they can be made to serve. For the advancement of our higher education in London, it seems to me that we have now reached a point when we have only to make the right combination of existing conditions, and raise London at once into the first rank among University towns.

The conditions of the time have greatly changed since the movement for establishing a London University that led to the opening in 1828 of the building now known as University College, London. Its founders looked at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, yet untouched—as England itself was untouched—by reforms that have since fairly kept pace together in the Universities and in the country. They saw that in the old Universities, and in the view also of a large party in England, it was then held to be essential that all education should look Godward by association with the teaching of the Church of England. They were pressed by an immediate need, and caring for

that only, the majority would have been led by Lord Brougham to found in London a special University for the Dissenters. But Thomas Campbell, with a poet's larger sense of life, struggled successfully for his ideal of a University of London in which freedom from tests was not the one thing aimed at, but part of a scheme as large and liberal as the conditions of that time allowed. The design of a University building was planned, and its main line erected. The belief that all higher education should be under the control of the Church of England was held by the party then in power. Therefore the Government of the day refused a charter to the proposed University, and it remained a teaching body without the power to confer degrees, until, with Government support, another institution had been founded. This was King's College, devised, in conscientious expression of what was then the dominant opinion, to supply higher education in London without separation from the teaching of the Church of England. This having been secured, the two teaching bodies were left free to do their work, each true to its own principle, at first not without a certain sense of rivalry, but after a while in the most hearty fellowship. The right of granting degrees to their students was vested in a separate body, which at first had rooms in Somerset House, but for which buildings were, in course of time, erected, containing examination halls, not lecture rooms. To this new body, since it was not to impose religious tests upon its graduates, the original foundation willingly gave up its title of University of London. The parent institution then contented itself with the extension and development of all the functions of a teaching body, under the name of University College, London. Within the last twenty years, both wings, to the full extent of the original design, have been added, but the spacious building first imagined as sufficient to contain a University of London, which should both teach and confer degrees, is now found to be too small for what is but one College of the University. Along the whole extent of the buildings of University College there runs an upper

floor that was no part of the first plan, and its ends are left unfinished for large additions. These additions are even now being made necessary by continued growth of a place of higher education that has trebled the number of its students during the last eighteen years. It is clear, then, that University College, large as it is, cannot be made to contain the whole Faculty of Arts, any more than it can contain the whole Faculty of Medicine, of the future University of London.

Has not the course of time made it as clear to us that the whole future University can be as little contained within the examination rooms of the present University of London? I speak with firmest loyalty to both these institutions. They will, I believe, be leaders in the future, as they have been in the past ; with power increased, honour increased ; but they will be parts of a larger system. At best they will

“ Front but in that file
Where others tell steps with them.”

With reference to its future history, I think that the most critical year in the life of what we now know as the University of London was that in which it threw its degrees open to all who could pass its examinations. In itself the act was just and liberal. In its effect upon higher teaching by the Colleges in which, until that time, all its candidates for degrees were trained, no doubt it was mischievous. The Colleges, with a view to their own efficiency as places of education, were bound to protest, and did protest against the change. But the good done has been greater than the harm. It has been so great, indeed, as to provide the University of London, as now constituted, with a new reason, which has become one of its chief reasons, for existence. As for the harm done, though it be unquestionable as the good, we have reached the time, I think, when we can make an end of it.

Let us look now for a minute to Degrees. The original Bachelor of Arts was he who was supposed to have gone

through the Trivium, beginning with grammar, learnt at the grammar schools, which was of course the grammar of the language then used as the common language of the republic of letters, and the chief instrument for the communication of all other formal knowledge. Upon grammar followed the second and third Arts in the Trivium—logic and rhetoric. The boy who went straight from the grammar school to the University, had to fasten upon logic, and would get the kind of drilling in Aristotle's *Organon* that drove Francis Bacon into vigorous assertion of another method of research. The Bachelor of Arts who had achieved the conquest of the Trivium, proceeded next through the Quadrivium to his dignity of Master of Arts, and got at the end of the mystical seven years to the end of the Seven Arts of which he was certified Master. The Seven Arts have followed the Four Elements; and it is not every Master of them who in the present day could even tell their names. But they were recognised even in the appointment of the subjects to be taught at Gresham College. For that college was first designed to grow into a University of London. After long arrest of development, it will now, perhaps, be enabled, under change of times, to make its endowment serviceable in the way intended by its founders.

We know how great has been the multiplication, and the subdivision, and the growth in every section, of the forms of knowledge by which men now labour in the service of their race and of their Maker. There are seventy times seven Arts in place of seven. We are made daily to feel the great increase in the amount of study necessary to those who would understand a little about any one thing. We do not practically ask now of any man whether he is a Master of Arts, but over which art, or section of knowledge, he has attained a little mastery, for I think none of us get much. Even the more modern degree of Doctor of Science means only Doctor in one Science, or more especially in one part of one science; and we have still to ask when we hear of one who is a Doctor of Science—Doctor of what Science, and which part of it? The ways also to the attainment of different

forms of knowledge are so different that one place of education will hardly serve with like efficiency as guide along them all.

London, as I have said, already possesses the full teaching powers of a University, with its chief strength upon the Modern Side. Cambridge may still be the head-quarters of mathematical study; Oxford may hold and advance its credit in Latin and Greek; but for the prosecution of all other studies the best aids are to be found in London. Since the foundation of University College and King's College, important centres have been established here for the aid of special studies; and London must always be the place in which the greatest number of good teachers can be found. I need say nothing of our School of Mines and other such foundations, and of our newly founded Technical College and College of Music. Long ago we had here, as we still practically have, our great Law University. In the days of Elizabeth, when London was not so large as Liverpool is now, the proportion of law students was greater, because study of law was then widely regarded as a proper finish to the education of a gentleman, who, as a magistrate, might have to administer laws, or who might in his place in Parliament help to discuss and alter them. Even Justice Shallow "was once of Clement's Inn." The Inns of Court, as centres of Law Teaching, were then a very noticeable feature in our London life, their teachers and students as conspicuous among the citizens as if there had been here in name as well as in fact the chief Law University of England. Improvements of late years in the machinery of teaching and examination by the Inns of Court have brought them to the point at which, with very little more change in the same direction, they can at once add to a London Faculty of Arts an ample and well recognised Faculty of Laws.

What have we then to do but find a way of organising all the scattered forces now employed in London for the higher purposes of education, leaving to each of them the full use of its energies, untrammelled by external control,

but joining to each of them the force of all the rest in labour towards many of its aims?

This organisation would leave the work of the present London University untouched. All the world should still find in the University of London an examining body that would test knowledge obtained, no matter where or how; and that would give certain degrees to those able to pass successfully through certain strict and well planned courses of examination. But let us not confound degrees obtained in this way with degrees obtained through a long course of well-arranged University training.

I would propose, then, to leave the whole present work of the Senate of the London University untouched, and to add to the University its missing half. This other half must have a machinery of its own that could work either separately or in close union with the present system. This new part of the University should have a central body—a University Chamber—which should be strictly representative. Every place of advanced education in or near London in which students after the age of seventeen devote their whole time in successive years to serious preparation for the work of life, should send, in proportion to its extent, one or more representatives to this Chamber, of which the Faculties should be at least eight: namely, of Arts, and of Science, as each enters into the general course of intellectual training; and added to these a distinct Faculty for each of the great practical applications of them to the work of life. This would give us Faculties of Medicine, Law, Engineering, Education (for which also there should be a special training), Music, and I would not omit Divinity, in which it is not difficult to provide that there shall be sound intellectual training, and communication of much knowledge, with opinion free.

Every college or public place of higher education in which men or women after the age of seventeen spend their days in study that is above the level of school teaching and extends beyond a single year, should be entitled to send one member or several members to represent it in one or

several of the faculties of the University Chamber. A place of higher education, college or hospital, in which there are fewer than a hundred students, should be entitled to send one member to that Faculty of the Chamber which represents the chief part of its work. Where the number of students exceeds a hundred in any Faculty of any College, for each hundred, and for any remaining part of a hundred, if it be more than fifty, the College should be entitled to send to the Chamber one more representative. Each representative should be appointed only for three years, but there should be no restriction upon reappointments.

In this way the teaching half of the University of London—the highest interests, in fact, of advanced education in London—would be placed under the management of a large and influential Representative Chamber, working in full assembly, and by faculties, and by committees, according to the nature of its business. In this body, then, I place my Faculty of Arts for London, with such resolution of it into other Faculties, upon the Modern Side, as modern times require.

Let us look now at the relation of such a Faculty to Teaching, and the Subdivision of Degrees.

The entrance door to the University of London in its extended form should remain what it is now, the Matriculation Examination, subject to no other modifications than such as the Senate may from time to time think fit to introduce. That examination is accepted throughout the country as showing that those who pass it have properly completed their school education. More than a thousand candidates entered their names for the last half-yearly Matriculation. Although many paths may lead afterwards to many forms of a London degree, there should be, I think, one starting-point for them all—the passing of the Matriculation Examination.

The youth having matriculated, may become if he likes a lonely worker, and obtain degrees as they are now to be obtained ; partly by private study of small manuals invented for the purpose, which give him forms of answers to all

questions asked in a given subject during the last twelve years ; or he may enter into business, and get aid from Evening Classes ; or he may enter a college for full study, and finding it easier not to comply with conditions that impose on him a long course of training, or for any better reason, he may choose, even from college, when a better alternative is offered, to go up for the degree open to all. He is not bound to take the form of degree which I am now proposing, and which will carry with it the assurance of years spent exclusively in college work. That will be something added to the present system, from which at the same time I propose to take nothing away. But if the youth does propose to take the London degree in the new form, some course like this would have to be followed.

The degrees of B.A. and M.A. would retain their time-honoured place as symbols of advance in general culture. There is no reason why women, who earn them, should have new titles invented for them. The words "Bachelor" and "Master" mean in themselves as little as the word "Arts" itself. We might as well ask that a man who is Bachelor of Arts should be called Husband of Arts when he marries, as propose that a woman should read Bachelor into Spinster. If the desire of the student were towards the degrees of B.A. and M.A., through college training, that should imply resolve upon a seven years' course of sustained study.

For the Bachelor of Arts there should be a three years' course, during which I think there should be cultivation of not fewer than five subjects of study. During at least two of the three years there should be study of Latin ; during at least two there should be study of English ; in each case of both language and literature. During at least two years there should be also study of Mathematics ; and during at least two there should be study of some Natural Science. I would allow no mind with strength for Science to avoid the quickening touch upon its other powers that comes with a study of Literature ; and I would allow no mind with a strength for Literature to begin its higher training without help from the exact methods of Science. The fifth study in

the course of training that leads up to the B.A. degree, I would leave to depend upon the individual aims or tendencies of the student. Also the one year less than three of enforced study of each of the four subjects, Latin and English, Mathematics, and a Natural Science, I would have occupied with work determined by a sense of fitness in each case, except that some time must be given to the continuance of the school studies of French, and that German must be at least begun. Attainment of the degree should be dependent not upon one final examination, but on gradual and unforced evidence of the attainment of a right standard of knowledge in each of the five chosen subjects of study. In each class there should be a First Pass examination based upon the teaching of the class. This should be open only to those students who had been in regular attendance for at least two sessions. Five First Passes—four of them being those on the prescribed subjects—obtained within any period not shorter than three years, with a witness to good character signed by the five teachers, should, without further examination, entitle the student to the Bachelor of Arts degree.

But we must provide also for the maintenance of a right standard of knowledge by the pass examinations. Every teaching body that is recognised as part of the University of London, should, therefore, be required to submit to the University Chamber its pass examination papers, with the answers upon which passes have been granted ; and the Chamber, through its several Faculties, should observe their character. The fullest freedom should be given to variety and individuality of teaching ; no good teacher should be checked or controlled. But if it be found that in any class of any place of higher education, the amount or kind of actual knowledge by which a student has been permitted to obtain a pass is clearly insufficient, or bad, the University Chamber should communicate that fact, when the defect is not great, to the teacher privately, and when it is great, to the governing body of the institution to which the inadequate class belongs. When in the opinion of seven-eighths of the whole number of members of any Faculty of

the Chamber, the teaching of a class within its province, as evidenced by its pass examination papers, or by the answers that have been accepted as sufficient, is clearly inadequate, then in the first place, six months' notice should be given to allow time for the institution answerable to secure improvement of its teaching; but at the end of the six months it should be in the power of the University Chamber to exclude any such class from the teaching staff of the University until there should be clear evidence of its restored efficiency. The teachers would be all the stronger for thus being made responsible to their own Representative Chamber, acting as the University itself; and while no fair use of individual discretion could be interfered with, and every teacher would be left to work in his own way, because the best spirit of the teacher must of necessity be paramount in the Chamber, a mere habitual absence of discretion, or a way of work that in the opinion of seven men out of eight fell short of University requirements, would have no chance of survival. No teacher and no school could remain part of our University when once found to be trading upon false pretences.

In some such way, then, we could assure the value of the passes given to students as steps to the reaching of degrees. I go on from the period of three years' study for the B.A. degree, to the four years' further study leading on to the M.A. During these four years, three, at least, of the four subjects required to be studied for two years during preparation for the Bachelor's degree, should be studied for at least another two years, and advanced knowledge should then be shown by passing successfully, in each of them, a very strict higher examination; this stricter examination being known as the Second Pass. In three other subjects, of which one must be German, and two should be left to the choice of the candidate, through diligent class study, but at any time during the seven years' course, the grades of First and Second Pass must be successively attained. The man or woman who has attained six Second Pass certificates, and has spent at least seven years as student of the

University in systematic work, proceeds then without further examination to the degree of M.A.

But in the meantime the same student may have taken any other degree, by pushing some study in which it is important to attain special proficiency to the point at which the highest standard, that of a Third Pass examination, can be reached. This should be prolonged and searching enough to prove a right to pass from the state of pupil to the state of teacher, and give the degree of Doctor, limited in terms to the one study by which it has been attained, as Doctor in Latin, Doctor in English, Doctor in Chemistry, and so forth. Such a degree, truly defining the real line of study, in which highest skill has been attained, and joined to a degree of M.A., earned by years of careful training, all education and no cram, would be without a rival. And one of these degrees would be defined in the simplest manner as a degree earned on the teaching side of the University, by naming after it the college or colleges in which it had been chiefly earned.

From the line I have here been following, other lines of graduation would of course diverge. Some of them would begin their divergence immediately after the Matriculation, as it must be for the most part in the study of Medicine. For such professional training lines have already been laid down that could easily be worked in correspondence with the plan that I am here suggesting. The higher Law degrees and the degrees in Music should, perhaps, begin their divergence after the passing of the stage of Bachelor of Arts. But if so, some parts of the study through which the degree of Bachelor of Arts is reached should be adapted, in these cases, to the future career of the student. Such matters would be for consideration of the Inns of Court, and of the Royal College of Music, if there were any general acceptance of my plan. It admits of larger outlines than I venture here to sketch, and of modifications or developments that will occur to many minds.

If it be not thought useless to try for the realisation of some such idea, the way of action is of course quite plain.

A few men who are known to care for advanced education, and who represent different lines of study, can begin by forming a provisional committee. They can help one another to work out in detail such a plan as they think good, and can make a list of the colleges and other institutions in which advanced teaching is systematically given. To the several councils of these institutions they can submit their plan, asking for comment. If the comments they get induce them to think that the plan is, on the whole, workable, it can be revised by the light of various opinion, before inviting the several schools and colleges to contribute each a member or two to a provisional representative committee. Such a committee having been obtained, there follows an effectual revision of the scheme, and after that the actual beginning. The conditions of the scheme involve in themselves few causes of delay. We want no university buildings. The meetings of the University Chamber could be held in Burlington Gardens if the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, as it now stands, consented to include its other half under their rule. But the Chamber could also hold its meetings in the larger colleges, and do good service, too, by visiting each of them in turn. The chief cost of the scheme would be for a Charter. If Gresham College, seeing its opportunity, added its forces, the money spent by it in following the letter of an old bequest, would be more than enough to cover the small cost of carrying out its real intention in the fulness of the spirit. In any case, the money question is nothing, if we can agree upon a ground of common action, and really act.

DISCUSSION.

Professor ARSÈNE DARMESTETER, of the Faculté des Lettres de Paris, addressed the Conference in the French language. Referring to a point raised by a previous speaker, he asked why it should be decided to found a university for scientific instruction only, to the exclusion

of literary education? Scientific research, whether its object were the study of nature and her laws, or of man and his history, was one and the same thing, and this unity should find its counterpart in the constitution of the university. Independent sciences owed their being to the imperfection of our intelligence, and to our inability to grasp them in their union. If the student were compelled to specialise, then must the teaching of the university as a whole strive to hold up before him the essential unity of knowledge. In this we had the example of the German Universities, combining, as they did, scientific and literary education in the single faculty of philosophy; a name well chosen to show the higher common state in which the special sciences meet and combine. On the contrary, we had the example of the division of the literary and scientific faculties at the Sorbonne. Such new studies as belonged at once to literary and scientific education could not succeed in finding a place in either.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN regretted that Prussia had not sent a representative to the Congress. He felt sure such a representative would have listened with pleasure to the admirable and very comprehensive opening address of the noble President. He would have been able to compare the suggestions made by Professor Morley, in his very valuable paper, with what had already been carried out in the German Universities. He, the speaker, begged to be allowed to refer to the remarks made by Professor Darmesteter concerning the constitution of the various faculties in German Universities. To take the University of Berlin:—There were four faculties, as was the case with all the other Universities in Germany with one exception alone, viz. : the faculties of Theology, of Laws, of Medicine and of Philosophy. As to the latter—which was specially alluded to by Professor Darmesteter, he was inclined to think that its comprehensiveness had not been properly brought before the meeting. Under the head of “*Philosophische Wissenschaften*” were grouped not only what was called in this country logic, moral and mental philo-

sophy, but also many cognate subjects. A second group was "Mathematische Wissenschaften." Natural sciences, with all allied subjects, formed the third group. "Staats-, Cameral- und Gewerbewissenschaften," formed the fourth; History and Geography the fifth; "Kunstlehre und Kunstgeschichte" the sixth; and "Philologische Wissenschaften" the seventh group. He would have been glad to draw the meeting's attention specially to the fourth and fifth groups, which did not exist in any of the English Universities in such a completeness, but time did not permit it. The university teachers were: professors, extraordinary professors (*ausserordentliche professoren*), *privatdozenten* and *lectoren*. Now, as to Professor Morley's very valuable paper, he wished to express the hope that this excellent scheme would soon become a reality in London. He was in perfect harmony with Professor Morley as to the necessity of passing a matriculation examination, before being admitted to the curriculum of the university. It was of the greatest importance to get students who had already received such an education as to enable them to follow with advantage to themselves lectures of the highest and most advanced character. Time did not allow him to make any additional remarks as to many other suggestions made by Professor Morley in his paper. In conclusion, he wished to say that he hoped when the time of the realisation of the plan came, experiences of other nations concerning universities would be duly considered.

Dr. O'REILLY, of St. Joseph's College, Clapham, regretted that he had not had the advantage of listening to Professor Morley's paper, but he had heard the discussion which had taken place both in English and French, and with regard to what had been stated by the last speaker, he would say that scholastic programmes were made for the generality and not for the favoured few. Moreover, it was necessary, at a proper time, to specialize studies. It seemed to him impossible for a student to attain great proficiency at the same time in classics, mathematics, and

physical science. It was only fair that a young man should be allowed to direct his attention to certain particular branches of study. Something had been said about the curricula of the University of London, and he was very glad to have this opportunity of saying that the examinations were in some faculties too extensive. He also thought the matriculation examination would be all the better if a few subjects were omitted altogether, the others remaining as they are. It was that very fundamental knowledge upon which they could afterwards raise a good superstructure, and enable a man to attain thorough proficiency in his subject, so that his knowledge might be not merely speculative but, as far as possible, thoroughly practical. In conclusion, he would suggest that they should not be hasty in adopting the German system of having one universal faculty, and that it would be very conducive to real progress to give young men the opportunity of directing their attention to any one class of studies—chemical, physical, mathematical—for which they might have particular liking and aptitude. If that were done the result would be to produce competent men who would be able to reflect honour and credit upon their country.

ON SCIENCE TEACHING IN LABORATORIES.

By FLEEMING JENKIN, LL.D., F.R.S.

THE thesis which in the present paper I propose to develop will not, I trust, arouse much opposition, inasmuch as my intention is simply to record that which I believe to be the best existing practice. I have no striking novelty to propose for discussion. I hope, however, that I may be able to explain certain facts in connection with laboratory teaching in such a manner as may be of some use to

those who, not being themselves teachers of science, nevertheless endow or control the teaching in laboratories. The manufacturer or commercial man who desires to benefit technical education is almost invariably anxious that the teaching which he is willing to promote by giving time or money, or both, should be of a practical character, and, for my own part, I believe this desire to be perfectly justified. What is called pure science has, and should have, devoted followers, but it is also desirable that applied science should be fostered, and, as an engineer, I have a natural sympathy with those branches of science-teaching which tend to be more immediately fertile. Hence I am disposed to enforce this doctrine, that practical teaching in the experimental laboratory is that which, of all others, deserves and requires endowment; but in asking for practical or technical teaching, a disposition is sometimes shown to expect that our universities and colleges should teach matters which shall be not only ultimately, but immediately, useful in a given trade or manufacture. It is even thought that the teacher ought to lead the way in improving the practical methods used in the factory; that the college may, in fact, become a model factory, or contain many model factories. On the other hand, the teacher of pure science is sometimes tempted wholly to disregard practical teaching, trusting that if the principles of science are correctly understood sound application will follow as a matter of course. Placed between these two extremes, I would side rather with the man of science than with the man of trade. The principles of each science are few, positive, permanent, and such as can be learnt from lectures and books. The applications are innumerable; their results cannot be made the subject of absolute calculation. The methods vary from year to year and from month to month; they can neither be learnt nor taught in the lecture-room. I say these things dogmatically, having no fear that any teacher of experience will contradict me. Are we to conclude, then, that no practical teaching of importance can be given in our Universities? Far from it. There is no teaching more prac-

tical, more immediately fertile in results than that which can be given by the man of science in his laboratory. This teaching is of two kinds—each valuable. That which is most popularly known and most appreciated is practical instruction in research. The teacher is himself engaged in the research of some scientific truth, and he finds in the best of his students a willing band of workers, ready to devote their whole energies and time to the prosecution of minute and prolonged enquiry; the young men are inspired by the teacher with his own ardour; they imitate his methods, sympathise with his aims, and emulate his success. In a few years these generous and unknown assistants will themselves be leaders. The process is natural, healthy, and successful, but it is incomplete. It reaches only those who are born with a great natural aptitude for scientific enquiry. The rank and file of the students cannot be employed in this manner by the teacher; they would waste their time, spoil an indefinite amount of apparatus, hinder the advanced student, occupy the attention of the teacher unworthily, and perhaps try his temper; and yet the rank and file—the ordinary well-meaning student who will never become a leading light in science—is worthy of our attention. If he is well educated he may become a successful manufacturer, contractor, engineer, or farmer, and sensibly increase the power and wealth of our country. It seems to me that this student is not so well provided for in our scientific teaching as is desirable. And the main question I propose for discussion is, how we are to improve the education of this second-best young man. My own answer, put briefly, is that we can teach him systematically the art of measurement. We cannot give him the hunger for knowledge, the acute logical discrimination, nor the imaginative faculty required for research; but we can teach him how to ascertain and record facts accurately; we can bring home to him the truth that no scientific knowledge is definite, except that based on the numerical comparison which we call measurement; we can teach him the best modes of making that comparison in respect of a vast number of

magnitudes, and in teaching this we shall teach him to use his hands and eyes. This practical teaching gives clear conceptions to the minds of many who receive a verbal definition as a mere string of dead words. I should be glad if it were generally proclaimed that the elementary training in all our science laboratories should be a training in the art of measurement. I wish that the classes were called measurement classes. Then a student of ordinary intelligence would know that by entering a given class he would learn how to measure those magnitudes with which he will have to deal in after life. The attempt to measure them will lead him to consider their nature, and he will approach scientific study in the classroom with a faith in the reality of science which no verbal exhortation will ever give him. You may define the absolute unit of electrical resistance as accurately as you will, and your definition shall affect the average brain to no perceptible extent; but a young man of very ordinary education and intelligence can learn to measure resistances in ohms, and having learnt this, an ohm becomes a reality to him. Not only does the knowledge he has acquired make him a more valuable assistant to the engineer and contractor, but having acquired a working faith in the existence of ohms, he is prepared to take some trouble to understand the scientific definition.

Let me again repeat that I am here urging no new thing, I am merely, as I believe, stating the practice of all well-arranged laboratories—they are schools of measurement—a fact long since recognised by the chemist, but less explicitly recognised in other branches of physical science. The student of heat or light may come to the laboratory thinking vaguely that he is to make experiments—and to him an experiment does not imply a measurement. I have heard a young man describe as a very interesting experiment, performed by his teacher, the blowing-up of a horse pond by an imitation torpedo. Now if in that college the elementary practical class of physics had been called a class for measurement, this so-called experiment would not

have been shown, and the young man would not have been wholly misled as to what physical science meant. The teacher would not have thought of blowing up the pond until his pupils were capable of measuring the resistance of the leads, their insulation, the electromotive force of the battery, and other magnitudes.

The use of the word measurement in naming a class would be in itself a safeguard against the peepshow style of teaching, which at one time was far more common than is now the case. Moreover, it would allow examinations to be held of a practical kind, in which students in the same or different colleges might ascertain their relative skill. It is possible definitely to group students in the order of their merit by comparing the measurements which they make. The range and accuracy of their knowledge as to what instruments they should employ can also be tested by examination, and although an abuse of competitive examinations is certainly an evil, nevertheless one test of what can and what cannot be taught is to be found in the consideration whether an examination paper can or cannot be set. In quantitative analysis this mode of examination is universally adopted, but practical examinations in electrical and thermal measurements are not so common in our Universities as they might be, and practical examinations in the measurement of velocity, force, or work are even rarer.* Is it expecting too much to ask that, wherever physical science is taught, the students should have an opportunity of systematically learning how to measure every magnitude which can be expressed in numbers? The distinct recognition of measurement as a thing to be taught would serve as a guide in the purchase of apparatus—it would serve to distinguish the toy from the scientific instrument.

Let me not be misunderstood. There are innumerable experiments of the highest interest to the trained physicist which are mere magic-lantern slides to the

* Examinations precisely such as are here recommended are held in the Cavendish and many other laboratories.

student, and even the magic-lantern slide has its place. A lecturer may with propriety use a mere spectacle to give his audience a more concrete view of the subject on which he discourses; he may even sometimes employ a mere spectacle to afford relief from overstrained attention. I will go further, and say that measurement classes are not, in my opinion, suitable for secondary schools. They require in the student an interest in accuracy, and a belief in the importance of detail rarely found in boys or girls. It is sufficient for the boy to learn that a magnetized needle may move to the right or left under the influence of an electric current. The commonplaces of science are at one time of life interesting novelties; but there comes an age when the young man feels that he knows nothing of electricity unless he can predict the force which will be exerted on a given magnet under given circumstances, which are themselves capable of being defined accurately by the aid of numbers; and he can only learn this knowledge by the aid of practical classes in the laboratory.

Another advantage of the measurement class is this; it brings the teacher of science into direct contact with the practical man. It even enables the practical man to some extent to control the teaching of the man of science.

If a practical engineer comes into a scientific laboratory, he can tell whether lengths, areas, angles, forces, and so forth, are being well measured, or whether the class is being taught in an antiquated or perfunctory manner. It will be obvious to the least educated of our practical men, that measurement is required; and they can judge what measurements are required. Hence, we may expect that measurement classes, boldly so called, will readily find endowments; and, as an incidental advantage, they may help to extinguish the popular fallacy of College workshops. Having worked for three years at the bench in a Manchester locomotive shop, I have always protested against the endeavour to set up in Colleges or Universities workshops, with the object of giving students any considerable practical knowledge of any art. In the secondary

school I believe a workshop may be useful as an adjunct, providing certain boys with the means of acquiring a little skill in a pleasant way. There is much pleasure, and some profit, to be got from tinkering among models when we are boys, but when a young man has chosen a trade or art, he can only learn that trade or art by working at it, and by working under the actual conditions of the trade or art: little girls may pleasantly and usefully dress their dolls, but no woman could in two or even three college terms learn to be a successful milliner by cutting out dolls' clothes for an hour three times a week; and yet I sometimes hear what is no better than this advocated as a necessary adjunct to engineering teaching at a university. The young professional engineer does not simply learn in the works how to file and chip. He learns the time required for all manner of jobs, the finish required in each class of work, the way the various parts are handled, the forms which are convenient, the routine of the shop, the character of the men—the system of storage, the materials and sizes to be bought in the market, and hundreds of other facts, which can only be made his own after contact with manufacture on a full scale. We cannot imitate this in college.

But the workshop, in connection with the measuring class, is a legitimate and almost necessary complement. The work done in this workshop is not the same as that of any trading concern, although it bears some similarity to that of the practical optician. In such a workshop, the student may be usefully occupied in adjusting, repairing, and modifying the apparatus he requires; he may thus learn to use both hand and eye, and he may gain some practical knowledge of materials; he can, in fact, acquire such skill in a number of the minor arts as will be of much use to him in experimental work; used in this way, the laboratory workshop may teach him much which he cannot easily learn in large engineering or manufacturing works.

Scientific research for the most advanced and best endowed students; measurement classes, open to all, in all

branches of exact science, and a common laboratory where apparatus of all kinds can be repaired, adjusted, modified, with the help of highly skilled workmen. This is the general picture which I have endeavoured to draw of a college fully equipped for practical scientific teaching. I have not touched on the study of theory, which must precede or accompany the practical training. This lies outside my subject. I have laid most stress on measurement classes, because it has seemed to me that while the importance of this teaching is patent both to men of science and men of practice, the organization of these classes admits of considerable improvement and great extension.

In order to bring out more definitely what I mean by a measurement class, and to emphasize the fact that these measurements are not so fully or systematically taught as is to be desired, I will conclude by giving a list of some of the measurements which might be usefully taught at college to a student who looked forward to becoming an engineer :—

1. *Measurements of Length.*—These would range from micrometrical measurements for standard gauges up to the modes employed in measuring the base lines of surveys. They would include rough workshop methods and the practical methods used in ordinary surveying and navigation, so that the student might learn not only the maximum accuracy attainable, but the degree of accuracy required in practice. The methods would include indirect measurements by optical apparatus as well as direct methods—lineal measurement for valuation would be included.

2. *Measurements of Surface.*—These would range from the smallest plane area to be perceived in the microscope up to the areas measured in geodetical operations. The various drawing-office methods of computing plane areas, or measuring these by special instruments would be practised. Curved surfaces of all degrees would be measured, and various classes of integrators applied. Superficial measurement for valuation would be included.

3. *Cubic Contents.*—These measurements would range from determinations of great accuracy, such as are required in scientific research, up to the measurement of earth-works, the contents of barrels, tanks, timber.

I may here remark that these three kinds of measurements alone would require a very large collection of apparatus, and that this collection would require to be extended year by year. I also venture to think that all this information can be far better given in college than during a practical apprenticeship. No single workshop or engineering office contains nearly enough apparatus, nor is it the duty of any one to teach the use of such instruments as may be found there.

In the following list of heads I abstain from pointing out the large range of measurement required in each. I simply give the subject-matter of that measurement :

4. Angles.
5. Time.
6. Velocity, including angular velocity.
7. Acceleration, including angular acceleration.
8. Mass : under this head I would teach measurement of weight and density.
9. Force.
10. Intensity of force, including the pressure of gases and fluids.
11. Work and energy.
12. Power.
13. Friction. Solid on solid ; fluid on solid, and fluids in themselves.
14. Strength of materials in various forms, including their elasticity and distortion.
15. The efficiency of gearing.
16. The efficiency of motors.
17. The flow of fluids.

In addition to the above subjects for measurement, the engineer requires to know how physical measurements are made in heat, optics, electricity, and magnetism. The measurement classes in each of these subjects would em-

brace a range even exceeding that sketched out above for applied mechanics.

There are, I am glad to say, laboratories in this country where the student can learn many of the measurements of which I have spoken. It almost seems to me as if, of all the subjects spoken of, the fundamental measurements in engineering had been most neglected. The object of this paper will have been attained if it in any degree leads to an increase in the opportunities given to students of studying that which is surely the basis of all exact science as well as all practice, namely, measurement.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. STORR would hardly have risen to say anything upon the last paper for two reasons : in the first place because as far as he had been able to follow it it seemed to him so admirable that it left nothing to be said, and secondly because science was not his special subject, and he would not therefore have dared to say a word in this meeting upon it ; but if he might be allowed to take the two papers together he would make one or two remarks of a general nature. With a great part of Professor Morley's paper he thoroughly sympathized, but if he had followed it—and he was not present during the reading of the whole of the paper, so he might have failed to fully appreciate it—he differed from Professor Morley as to the last part which concerned degrees, and agreed rather with one or two of the speakers who had followed him. Education at starting, he thought, could not be too general for two reasons : first of all because the educated man ought to know something of everything ; secondly, because until various subjects have been attempted, the pupil cannot tell what his subject should be ; but there must come a time when they should specialize, and the only question was when that time should be fixed. He himself would be inclined to fix it

before leaving the secondary school, or at latest upon entering on a university course. How far the specialization should go was a different question, but at any rate he would suggest two distinct faculties, those of literature and science. He could see no advantage himself in the German name "Faculty of Philosophy" which was to include the two. Undoubtedly a university course ought to embrace all science and all literature, but it was a different thing to decide whether it should advise its members to attempt each branch. If he had understood Professor Morley rightly, that gentleman suggested granting the highest degree of the university to those who did attempt every branch, and secondary degrees to those who specialized in one branch. As far as his own experience went, the most distinguished men of his acquaintance had not been those who had read for double or treble honours; on the contrary, they had undoubtedly been the specialists. To go back to another point, namely, the matriculation examination, speaking as a schoolmaster, he thought that was the rock on which the University of London had split. He would not go so far as to say as a friend of his—a gentleman who had had large experience of London University matriculation examinations—and pronounce it the worst examination ever invented, but he would, from his own limited experience, say that it was a bad examination. The motive with which it had been started was a good one, no doubt; it was said, "We insist that every one before he specializes shall have a general acquaintance with the whole field of science." If the London University matriculation appealed only to the select few, he thought there might be something to be said for it, but Professor Morley had given them the numbers, namely, a thousand at the last half-yearly examination, which showed that it applied to the mass; and the consequence was that the proper standard in each subject could not be maintained. He himself knew of one instance in which a pupil passed the examination in chemistry with three weeks' reading. At the beginning the pupil did not know the very fundamental

principles of chemistry, but at the end of three weeks he had read up one of those little primers of which Professor Morley had spoken, and was enabled thereby to pass it. A number of text books had happened to come under his notice, specially written for the use of matriculation candidates, and he would say that a more villainous set of books—the very essence of cram, a sort of literary pemmican—he did not know. That gave him very considerable cause to doubt whether the matriculation examination of the University of London was so admirable as had been thought; and in this new ideal university, which he hoped he should live to see carried out, he would suggest that it would be far better to follow the German system. The fault of our English educational authorities was that they had no faith in persons. They went in for the kind of measurements which Professor Fleeming Jenkin had spoken of in his paper and shown the advantages of, but the external examiner was not the measure of all things, and the only way to secure that students joining the university should have such a preliminary education as would enable them to profit by the higher education which they would receive in the university, was to see that the school they had been at was ably conducted, and to trust to the masters of those schools for their guarantee. If a schoolmaster said that a pupil had been for so many years in his school and had passed a leaving examination which satisfied him that the pupil was fit to join the university, then he should say do not go behind the schoolmaster. Of course while we had secondary education absolutely uncontrolled in any way, there were difficulties in the way, but they were not, he thought, insurmountable difficulties; and without going into details he thought that such a London university as was proposed might well make out a list of schools (and he would have it as large, at any rate at the beginning, as to comprise all the secondary endowed schools in England), and might, as Professor Morley had suggested, supervise the examinations, conducted as he would have them, not by the university,

but by the masters of schools, and so provide a sufficient safeguard. If there were a few holes in their net, and if a few candidates should happen to creep through who ought to have been rejected, he did not think any great harm would be done, but he would set his face against any such matriculation examination as would require a minimum of knowledge in some eight or ten subjects. He hoped, as Lord Reay said in his opening address, to see more and more specialization, and he thought that was the only solution in dealing in the future with the present multiplication of subjects. They should begin to specialize and to specialize earlier than they had been doing, and in that way, he thought, the claims of schools and the universities might both be satisfied. In the future the educated man must be one who has at starting acquired a general view of all subjects of knowledge, and who after that has confined himself, except in the case of abnormal geniuses, to a single branch.

The Rev. Professor CROMBIE (St. Andrew's) said it was perhaps inevitable that the discussion on the first paper should have, to some extent, degenerated into a criticism of details. As he understood from the paper of Professor Morley, the idea aimed at was the formation of a great university of the future in London, because in London were to be found all the elements necessary to carry out the plan. Professor Morley had not, however, laid down dogmatically the various methods to be pursued and the details of carrying them out, but the great idea of the university which he desired to see realized, the fundamental idea, was that this great university of the future was to be an assemblage or aggregate of schools teaching all kinds of knowledge in science and literature. It was, in fact, an idea which, when realized, was to cover the whole present field of knowledge, with the necessary power of expansion in order to meet other branches of developed knowledge in future years. No one would dispute that that was a very grand and a very noble idea, the realization of which was much to be desired ; but in the present state of

society he feared the period at which this great idea could be fully realized was still tolerably far distant, and he would like to hear something which was more practicable, something which was more likely to be realized with the forces and materials now at our command. There were one or two points in the paper on which he would have liked to find Professor Morley a little more explicit. First of all, what were to be the tests in point of competency of those who were to teach in this proposed great aggregate of schools? That university was to comprehend all institutions within a reasonable distance of London, but there was no test proposed of the fitness of those who were to give instruction in that great establishment or assemblage of schools—no test except that of the failure or success of the pupils in the various university examinations. No doubt that was a very good way of distinguishing the fitness of teachers. A great deal had been said, good, bad, and indifferent, about college examinations; much had been said against them, and the examinations had suffered on the whole from what had been said; but he thought the way to secure the best teachers for this proposed great university would be to borrow a leaf from our friends the Germans. Their university system was the most complete system of higher university education which Europe had yet seen. He spoke with some experience on the subject, for he had spent two years at different German universities, and thus had the opportunity of studying their system on the spot. That system comprised three grades of professors. Before a young man was considered qualified to give instruction in any field of knowledge he might select, he must satisfy his professors in the first place by writing an original thesis, which was read in public; and a more effectual system could hardly be imagined. The student delivered his thesis, it might be in Latin, in the presence of his fellow students and several of the heads of the university. He then became *privat-docent*, without a salary from the State, and he would at that period depend upon his own ability in teaching and upon the

reputation he might acquire. Afterwards he might become *extra-ordinarius* professor, and he would then receive a small salary from the State. No doubt by that time his reputation would have extended possibly beyond his own university throughout the universities of Germany, and he had probably written a book. His book might be paradoxical, perhaps, for he might possibly be more anxious to make a name than to advance the cause of knowledge. He would then possibly be taken away from that university to fill a higher chair elsewhere, or would get, perhaps, a chair in his own university, and by that time, usually, would have made some solid contribution to the department of knowledge of which he was a teacher. He (Dr. Crombie) would desiderate some such scheme of probation in our own universities, and he referred naturally as a Scotchman to our own system in Scotland, where the Crown appointments were made by the Home Secretary, who was generally guided by political motives or influenced perhaps by friends, and indeed there was room for various influences which ought not to operate. But, passing from that matter, one point had been greatly discussed about specialization, and he held that that was inevitable in a certain stage of progress of a system where everyone was seeking to acquire a higher state of knowledge. He found great differences of opinion existing upon that point amongst educationists of the highest order. Some would have the basis of general culture to begin when the student first enters the university, while others said he ought to have one or two years after entering in order to gain some knowledge of all that constitutes a liberal education, and he himself thought that anyone who wished to extend the boundaries of knowledge must specialize. Professor Morley had said he would specialize up to a certain point and after a certain period, either in or out of the university. He had not had the opportunity of reading Professor Morley's paper, and might, perhaps, have left out on that account some of its most important points, but he begged to thank that gentleman most heartily for his most brilliant and highly suggestive paper.

Lord REAY said that a very good rule existed in both Houses of Parliament, that a speaker should be alternately chosen to address the assembly on either side, but, fortunately or unfortunately, to-day the course of the debate had not been of such a controversial character as to enable that to be done, and he would follow previous speakers for the purpose rather of supporting them. The last speaker, however, Dr. Crombie, as representing the University of St. Andrew's, naturally saw with a gloomy foreboding this advent of a London university. He was bound to say that he did not think the difficulties in the way of their setting to work almost immediately were at all great; but, certainly, if there were difficulties in the way, they did not comprise the difficulty pointed out by the last speaker, that there would not be sufficient excellency of teaching power available, because undoubtedly we had, from that point of view, what our French friends call *l'embarras du choix*. He need only mention that we had at the present time actually teaching in London such men as Lister, Wace, Huxley, and Ray Lankester, Pollock, Bryce, and Frederic Harrison. It was enough to mention those names, among many others, to show that we had teachers ready made. Of course, as regards literature, he need only point to Professor Morley himself. The difficulty, therefore, would not be the inability to get teachers in those various faculties, but how to get those teachers collected into what he would call one focus. Then with reference to the very valuable suggestion about probationers, there again London would give plenty of scope for applying that system. London would give them everything that was wanted, because the very numbers who would flock to such a university, and the division of labour in so many departments, would make it quite easy to appoint men who would—only after having passed such a probationary period—earn the title of professor *ordinarius*. A great difficulty, no doubt, as was the case with every reform, would be found in what might be called the vested interests, which objected to have their present powers

curtailed, and it would need considerable tact in the organizing body which Professor Morley had sketched out to deal with such corporations, as, for instance, the various examining boards, the Inns of Court, and so on, in order to get them to join a central board. They would, however, attain that very object, which Professor Darmesteter had alluded to, of bringing the young men who frequented those courses into one university, stimulating their energy by a sense of pride taken in the prosperity of a great parent institution. A faculty, as Dr. Bosscha had said he understood it, and as we understood it in England, would be a unit in a university, and therefore the faculty of science, the faculty of laws, the faculty of medicine, and so on, would all be members of the one body. There remained one point to be dealt with, which had been raised by Mr. Storr, about the entrance examination to the university. He (Lord Reay) had already stated that morning that in the university the one thing which to his mind was of the utmost importance was to ascertain what should be the standard of education which ought to be attained by every undergraduate who intended to join, even though it might be for one single lecture. It was obvious that if a university was to be useful to those who went there, they should have a distinct understanding as to what amount of training the man who entered it should possess. That could be done in a twofold way, the one was to have the entrance examination as a standard, while the other was to give teachers of the preparatory institutions the power of declaring whether the pupils who were to go to the university were in a fit condition or not. Everything depended upon the efficiency of the institutions which prepared the students for the universities. If those institutions were organised so that full confidence could be placed in them, power should be given to the head master of deciding on the student's fitness. For instance, such power might be given to the head masters of Harrow and Eton. He was not at all sure that it would not be a good thing to give it to them, and in that case, perhaps, a good many

Harrovians and Etonians would be prevented from going to the universities. He agreed with Mr. Storr that in such cases it would be well not to have an entrance examination, but to trust the verdict of the head masters of such colleges. In the Dutch system those educational establishments which were called *Gymnasias*, which had a curriculum of six years, had the power of sending their pupils to the universities, while the pupils of other institutions had, of course, to submit to an examination. Dr. Bosscha would probably confirm his opinion that the guarantee which was given by the institution where the teaching was good was better than the guarantee afforded by the examination. With regard to Professor Fleeming Jenkin's paper, he could not, he was afraid, claim to be even "a second best young man" in the subject of measurement, but if that gentleman's lectures at the university were as entertaining as his paper had been he would think seriously of attending them. In conclusion, he proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Morley and to Professor Fleeming Jenkin for their suggestive papers.

The following paper by Professor Seeley was then read by the Rev. R. H. Quick :—

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

By Professor J. R. SEELEY.

THIS paper must be short, for reasons which I have explained to the President. I must ask the Conference to be content with a few large affirmations, which may be sufficient to provoke discussion, but which in the paper itself can be but very inadequately supported. Perhaps the Conference will agree with me that history, as an educa-

tional subject, is not yet past the stage at which large affirmations are necessary.

That conscientious and exact research ought to prevail in history, as in other serious departments of study, that we can no longer be content with the showy, semi-fictional narratives that satisfied a former generation, is a proposition upon which a great reform in the teaching of history has been based. We all know what has been done in this direction among ourselves; in Germany the reform was made long ago; in Paris it has in recent years proceeded rapidly, thanks to the exertions of the Minister Duruy and such Professors as Monod, Sorel, and Lavissee. On the principle itself I shall have nothing to say, because I do not suppose that among serious men there is any difference of opinion about it. If we set out in pursuit of truth, evidently we cannot be content with anything short of truth; and we all of us by this time have enough familiarity with the rigour of scientific methods to be convinced that the discovery of truth is no child's play, no mere amusement. But though the principle seems indisputable, I find that the application of it in education arouses much opposition—more opposition than I for a long time understood. It is allowed that such rigour of research is indispensable in the best kind of historical study, that those who intend to devote their lives to history should study it in this spirit. But the principle is of wider application. It affects also the historical studies of those who give less exclusive attention to history, in short, of the mass of students; and, further still, it affects popular views of history and our notions of the manner in which history should be written. These more indirect results of the principle of thoroughness arouse, I find, much opposition, and, when such opposition seems likely to be vain, a very sincere feeling of dismay. For this principle makes havoc of more cherished opinions than we might at first have expected, and seems, as it proceeds, to take all the poetry and all the charm out of history in such a way that we find ourselves at last asking, what purpose history so studied can serve. The admiration of great men, the

elevating contemplation of noble examples, is the reward most of us expect to receive for the trouble we bestow upon history ; but the principle of thoroughness sets us doubting whether any great men will come safe out of the critical crucible ; whether the historical record is complete enough to have preserved any trustworthy memory of great men ; nay, whether public affairs are not for the most part under the empire of routine, and seldom much affected by the special qualities of an individual. Scepticism invades this department of knowledge too, and we begin after a time to perceive that another class of opinions, viz., our opinions on politics, were far more involved than we at first imagined with those opinions on historical events and historical characters, about the soundness of which we have begun to feel a misgiving.

Hitherto, those who have sought to elevate the minds of students and give them a noble enthusiasm by means of books, have looked mainly to historical books. It is a result of the reform in historical method which has made it so much more rigorous, that historical books henceforth will be less available for this purpose. But if so, it will begin to be asked, what is the use of them to the majority of students ? I do not myself think that such extreme indifference with respect to history, as that which Mr. Herbert Spencer professes, is likely to prevail. I am not afraid but that history will continue to be thought important, and I believe that in the form of serious research it will flourish more and more for a long time to come. But in this form will it not be a study only adapted for the few ? Ought we not, therefore, to lay it down as a fundamental rule of the teaching of history that the subject is to be struck off the general educational list of subjects ?

I have remarked with anxiety of late years that some distinguished teachers appear inclined to hold this opinion. History was the favourite subject of Arnold and Temple, but some at least of those who now hold the same sort of distinguished position in the educational world, profess that they do not know how to teach history, and that there is no

subject which baffles them so much. The solution of this difficulty I think I see very distinctly, and if I seem to any to state it here indistinctly, I must ask them to impute it to the hurry in which I write, and at the same time refer them to several essays printed at different times in 'Macmillan's Magazine,' in which I have stated it more fully.

That historical investigation ought to be thorough is, of course, true, but by itself the proposition can hardly be called a truth ; it is at best a half-truth. If we borrow from science its rigorous method, we ought to borrow at the same time what science has else to offer. History which is scientific in its exactness, but in nothing else, is a middle thing between science and literature, and will attain the ends of neither ; it will be only dull literature and abortive science.

Science, when it has with such exemplary care collected and verified its facts, proceeds to generalise upon them and thus to establish principles. It is only for the sake of such principles that science considers facts worthy of collection and exact verification. But history, when it has made its investigations, contents itself with arranging and recording the results in a stately narrative, composed with literary art. The historian usually asserts that the results thus recorded are of great value ; he seems to assume that general principles might be deduced from them ; but he professes at the same time that his business is only with the facts, and that his work is done when a narrative has been composed exactly true, and at the same time well written. The reform of which I have spoken has scarcely touched this curious division of labour. It leaves the historian in the condition of a mere investigator and narrator of facts, asserting only that of these two functions the former is far more important and more difficult than the latter.

To whom, then, does it fall to deduce conclusions from the materials furnished by the historian ? To a wholly different class of persons, who at present have scarcely a name or recognised position among us, those philosophers who are attempting to build up a system of sociology. Now their speculations, being kept wholly separate from

history, do not enter into the teaching of history. In education, therefore, this subject is left as a mass of building materials, out of which no edifice is ever constructed. So long as the mere literary view of the subject prevailed, this did not seem absurd ; political truth was supposed to have been discovered independently by some *a priori* method, and historical examples were adduced chiefly by way of illustration ; but the absurdity springs to light as soon as history begins to be classed under science rather than under literature, so soon as political truth is understood to be discovered through history, and not merely to be illustrated by it.

I should like to argue at length that it is in itself an unsound method to assign the investigation of facts to one set of workers, and the reasoning upon the facts so discovered to another class. I should like to show that if the historian is not himself a sociologist, he will not know what facts are worth investigating, and still less in what degree facts are worth investigating. I should like to call attention to the great waste of labour on the one side, and the great deficiency of labour on the other side, which actually arise from the fact that historians under the present system are scarcely sociologists, and therefore do not altogether know for what purpose they investigate. But I must be content to point out the bad effects which the system has in education.

Under this system, facts are grouped not according to resemblance in kind, but simply in a chronological series. What may be called a biography of some famous state is written. Such a state-biography may be made very impressive by a writer of imagination, especially if he does not hamper himself with too minute research. But what can the student do with it ? He can scarcely treat it as a poem, and learn it by heart. Under the reformed system he analyses it, criticises it, traces it back to its sources ; a process under which most of its poetical impressiveness is likely to disappear. In return, he gets exact knowledge of important occurrences, but he does not get this in the form in which he can use it for the purpose of establishing

general conclusions, for the facts of which he thus gets exact knowledge are heterogeneous. They do not belong together by their nature, but only happen to be connected chronologically.

A single example will put before you the very obvious, yet, as I think, all-important fact to which I draw your attention. Let us think of the agrarian legislation of Tiberius Gracchus, which occupies the first striking chapter in the history of the fall of Rome. What subject can be more instructive to a student, both from its own importance and from the admirable manner in which it has been treated by modern scholarship? True, but educationally it is out of its place when it comes before the student as a mere occurrence of the second century before Christ. For thus presented it stands among facts with which it has no resemblance, and which throw no light upon it—military facts concerning the conquest of Carthage, Spain, and Greece by the Romans, facts of culture-history concerning the influence of Greek literature and Greek philosophy upon the conquerors of Greece. To study it properly, we must take it out of its chronological connexion and put it among facts of its own kind. It is a land-question; it has nothing to do with war or with literature; it ought to be studied first in connexion with the land-system of Rome in earlier and later times; secondly, by comparison with the land-systems and land-revolutions of other states, both ancient and modern.

In short, science brings together phenomena of the same kind, but history brings together phenomena of different kinds, which have chanced to appear at the same time. While we have given to history the conscientiousness of science, we have not yet given it the arrangement of science. We still arrange historic phenomena under periods, centuries, reigns, dynasties, but what is wanted is a real rather than a temporal classification. The phenomena should be classed under such headings as constitutional, international, economical, industrial, &c. Nor should each state be studied by itself, but all states together, the comparative

method being constantly employed, and much attention being given to the classification of states.

It will be seen that this principle would be almost revolutionary if it were at once and without reserve applied to the teaching of history. I am sensible that it needs to be explained at great length, and I am quite aware how many objections might be urged against it. But I have not time either for fuller exposition, or for dealing with objections, and therefore in the remainder of this paper I shall deal with an intermediate system which might, without too great difficulty, be adopted at once.

The essential point is this, that we should recognise that to study history is to study not merely a narrative but at the same time certain theoretical subjects. Thus, industrial facts cannot be understood without political economy, nor military facts without military science, nor legal facts without legal science, nor constitutional and legislative developments without political science. I have gone further, and laid it down that these theoretical subjects are the real object for which historical facts are collected and authenticated. But for the present it is enough that they should be recognised as inseparably connected with historical study. It has always been tacitly assumed that the historian is also an economist, an authority on constitutional law, on legislation, on finance, on strategy. Let us, then, go a single step further, and recognise that as the historian is all this, the student of history must prepare himself to be all this, in other words, must master all these subjects. Now these are the great subjects of public life; these are the studies which make the citizen and train the statesman. All the poetic charm which history is losing would be amply compensated if it should acquire in exchange the practical interest that is associated with these studies.

First, then, let the most important of these subjects be taught theoretically along with history, and for the benefit of historical students. Some of them, of course, are much more important than others. I place in the foreground

what we may call political philosophy (*Allgemeine Staatslehre*). After this may come that comparative study of legal institutions, of which we have such excellent specimens in the works of Sir H. Maine. Next will come political economy, which in the hands of an able teacher will probably assume a somewhat new shape when it is treated from the historical point of view. International law should be added, in order to accustom the student to contemplate the mutual relations of states.

It may be said that enough would be done if the teacher or lecturer in treating a historical period, entered fully into the economical, or juridical, or political principles suggested by the narrative. This is precisely what I wish to deny. It seems to me that in history, as hitherto written and taught, a quantity of theory has been, as it were, held in solution; I wish to see it precipitated. Whereas the investigation of historical facts has lately been made honest and careful, the reasoning about historical facts is still, it seems to me, oracular and unsatisfactory; I wish to make this, too, honest, methodical, explicit. For this end it seems to me necessary that what really is theory should be called theory and studied as such.

If it be asked by what practical measures such a change could be introduced; if it be urged, for instance, by a schoolmaster, that there is no room in the school-day for lessons on three or four new subjects, and that masters to teach them are not to be found in sufficient number, I should reply, that I have been discussing the teaching of history in general, not the teaching of history in schools. What I myself know practically is the teaching of history in Universities, and I suppose it may be laid down as a general principle that reforms in the higher education must begin at the University. The school is fettered to the University, since *to* the University the boys go, and *from* the University the masters come. Now, in the Universities it is not very difficult to arrange the teaching of history on this principle. Since in a University the theoretical subjects I have mentioned are already taught, all that is required is to

bring them into more direct, more formal connexion with history, and to abolish that vicious division of labour under which the historian imagines that he has nothing to do with sociology, and the sociologist, that he can dispense with history.

When this has once been done, each University will create a school of historians who will be as strong on the theoretical side as on the side of mere research. They will be sociologists, economists, jurists, as well as chroniclers and antiquarians, and as at both our Universities the historical school is already large, a good many of such historians will be formed. These will carry the method from the Universities to the schools. They will be the masters of the future historical classes at Harrow and Rugby. From them will proceed the text-books which will, as it were, fix the method and bring it within the reach of less able teachers. They, too, will decide whether history taught in this way is to be considered as an advanced subject, fit only for the highest classes in schools, or whether it may be possible to introduce even younger boys to it.

Lastly, they will help to clear up the confusion as to the nature and objects of history which now exists in the public mind. They will separate it from biography and from mere curious information about past times. They will separate it from romance, and they will explain in what sense and in what degree it may properly be made interesting, and in what sense also it cannot be interesting without ceasing to be true. They will assert the seriousness of history, and make it the lesson-book of politics, no longer a record which partisans may garble at their pleasure, but a record of truth, not to be altered and not to be evaded, written to correct our prejudices and rebuke our party rancour.

Dr. HEINEMANN had great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman. It could have been wished that a discussion might have taken place upon so interesting a subject, because every one who was acquainted with the

matter must know that the teaching of history in schools was very much neglected.

M. ARSÈNE DARMESTETER seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried unanimously.

Dr. ZERFFI, in acknowledging the vote, said that one great mistake made in the system of education in England had struck him as one who, though not a German, had been educated in Germany, and that was the continual confounding of education and instruction. Half of what had been said about education had reference really only to teaching. A sign-painter or cobbler was taught his trade, and was not educated for it. This confusion of totally different functions was the greatest mistake which could be committed. As a teacher in this country for thirty years, and for the last fifteen years appointed by the Science and Art Department as lecturer on art history, he had every opportunity to grapple with the subject of education. What we wanted was to introduce the same kind of educating and training in England as existed in Switzerland, Germany, or even in far distant Hungary—viz., that before any one was allowed to devote himself to a speciality, he should first receive a thorough general education. A mere smattering of a little Latin and still less Greek, of mathematics, geometry, and a systematic neglect of modern languages, was of no use. The study of the classics was to discipline our faculty of thinking and reasoning, and ought to be cultivated thoroughly, so as to make us understand the spirit of the ancients. Modern languages ought to be known, as no man could attain the highest standard of culture without being acquainted at least with English, German, and French. Besides these accomplishments a man ought to know geography and the facts of history, not only of his own country, but also of that of other nations. Dogs, cats, ants, and wild animals were studied, and why should we neglect the study of man as the factor of general history. Adding to this curriculum physical geography, political economy, and philosophy, we had a system which would enable any student to

become, in the shortest possible time, a thorough specialist. Having gone through this general education, which ought to be provided by our colleges and universities as it was in Germany, the successful student would thus become a thorough theologian, a sound lawyer, an excellent medical man, surgeon or chemist, and be able to distinguish himself in any practical or technical subject he might chose as his speciality. Nothing could be of greater advantage than the proceedings instituted by this "International Congress on Education," affording us an opportunity to exchange ideas with men from other countries, to hear different views from different sources on the general wants of a complete system of education, to further any scheme of culture on the broadest and most efficacious principles.

TEACHING OF THEOLOGY.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5TH, 10 A.M.

Chairman: The LORD REAY.

ON THE FACULTIES OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF FRANCE.

By BONET-MAURY, D.D.,

*Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Protestant Faculty of Theology
in Paris.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—There have not been wanting of late persons in France, who proclaim boldly that Christianity has had its time, that the study of the religions either dead or living belongs to the past, that it is a mere subject of archæology, and, consequently, that the Faculties of Theology have no longer any legitimate cause of existence in our future universities. An eminent scholar, Mr. Michel Bréal, whose philological works are highly renowned, the Père Didon, in his sincere but perhaps rather too *naïf* book on the Germans, have already reduced the aforesaid assertion to due proportions, by showing in how great a measure the theologians have contributed to the progress of philology and critical history, and by stating what an important place the science of divinity holds in the universities, and the life of the people at large, in Germany. Some of you will, no doubt, supply similar proofs for Great Britain. For my part, I should like to say something on the theological studies in the University of France—and I think

the best answer to be made to those ill-sounding prophecies is to represent our Faculties of Theology, both Catholic and Protestant, as still standing in the midst of our other more modern schools—not indeed as hostile cities or as the strongholds of obscurantism—but living and following, like noble servants of the truth, in the steps of Christ, discussing with a free spirit of emulation the moral and sociological problems which are agitated around them, borrowing their methods from the disciplines of the laity, and eager to pay their tribute to science and civilisation.

Having to deal with such high matters, I am conscious of my humility ; but I shall, at least, speak with an entire sincerity, confident of the approbation of the representatives of the English nation, which has always distinguished itself by love of truth, and never disunited religion and liberty. I shall begin with the Catholic, and pass afterwards to the Protestant Faculties of Theology.

You all know the ancient Sorbonne, whose dome proudly rises half-way up the hill S^{te} Geneviève. You have all heard of that famous school founded by Robert de Sorbon, chaplain to the King S^t. Louis, in the middle of the thirteenth century, with a view of inciting the secular ecclesiastics to the study of divinity, and which gave free admittance to poor scholars. In that school were formed the many and illustrious doctors, who were a light to the church, and also the geniuses who held the highest rank in literature or politics—Pierre d' Ailly, Nicolas de Clémenges, Charlier de Gerson, Antoine Arnauld, Ellies Dupin, and the most renowned of them all, Cardinal Richelieu. What is less known, but well worth noting, is the fact that the first printing-office in Paris was established by the Sorbonne, and that the first editions of the Bible and the ' Fathers of the Church,' came forth from her presses. Certainly such splendour has, from time to time, been overshadowed by a transient eclipse ; and, for my part, I cannot forget the war which the Sorbonne, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, mostly out of mere jealousy, declared against the *Collège de France* and the humanists who sided with the

reformers of the church. But it was only a temporary obscurity, and, from the end of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the Faculty of Theology of Paris deserved the name of *Concilium permanens Galliarum*.

The hurricane of the French Revolution swept the college of Master Sorbon away, with all the other institutions of the ancient form of government; but after Napoleon I. had created a new University in France, the Faculty of Theology took its rank at the head of the academy of Paris (1808); and since that time it has not ceased to thrive and to form men of parts and eminent Christians.

The late and regretted dean of the Sorbonne, Mgr. Maret, Archbishop of Lepanto, first canon of the chapter of St. Denys, in a report presented in 1883 to the President of the Republic, stated that, "within a period of twenty-five years more than twenty archbishops or bishops, one cardinal, three members of the French Academy, had been chosen amongst the professors. In addition to those high dignitaries of the church, men of the greatest abilities have given lectures at the Sorbonne and published a number of *thèses*, which make up more than sixty volumes, several of which have won the approbation of our Academies."

Allow me, gentlemen, to say of Mgr. Maret's own works what his modesty prevented him from stating. The late dean of the Sorbonne was one of the deepest and most original thinkers of our country, and, at the same time, a sincere friend of democracy. His 'Essai sur le panthéisme dans les sociétés modernes,' 1839; his 'Théodicée Chrétienne,' 1844; 'Philosophie et Religion,' 1856, in which last-named book he endeavours to mark the limits between reason and faith, and above all others his great work 'Du concile général et de la paix religieuse,' (1869), submitted to the examination of the members of the council of the Vatican, will remain as monuments of that Gallican piety which found its martyr in Mgr. Darboy, and its boldest advocate in the Père Hyacinthe. Is it necessary to recall to mind the colleagues of Mgr. Maret, the Bautains, Perreyves, Perrauds, Freppels, the two last-named only

having outlived this venerable dean? Their names are known beyond the frontiers of our country, and I think it will be more desirable to make you acquainted with masters—more modest but no less deserving than their elders—who have taken to heart to revive the glory of the ancient Sorbonne.

At their head I shall name, first, the venerable Abbé Bargès, as modest as he is learned, who has acquired a just renown as an orientalist and archæologist by his researches on the 'Phœnician colonies of Celtoliguria,' and on 'Tlemcen the ancient capital of an Arabian kingdom,' and also by his publication of the 'Commentary of Rabbi Yapheth on the Psalms and Song of Solomon,' Paris, 1884. ('Commentaires de Rabbi Yapheth sur les Psaumes et le Cantique des Cantiques.')

Then come, grouped around him, Abbé Blampignon, who, in his lectures on the canon law, has not hesitated to stigmatise the fanatic judges of *Calas* and the *Chevalier de la Barre*, and to declare boldly that he considered J. J. Rousseau as the most liberal thinker of the eighteenth century—Abbé Loyson, brother to Père Hyacinthe, who has derived the elements of the philosophy of history from the 'City of God'—and lastly Abbé Méric, a moralist and apologist of the very first rank, who, in his lectures, has contrasted with one another the modern theories on education in the English schools, and in the French system of philosophical positivism. In his book on the 'Social errors of the day,' ('Erreurs Sociales du temps présent'), he has impugned the deceiving promises of socialism.

The Catholic Faculty of Theology of Paris comprises seven courses of lectures with an equal number of professorships, as in the time when the ancient Sorbonne was in all its splendour: *Dogma, Moral Theology, History and Ecclesiastical Discipline, Canon Law, Holy Writ, Hebrew, Pulpit Eloquence*; but it wants lectures on civil canon law. Owing to the ability of the professors, and also to the magic power of her unique renown, the Sorbonne is visited by about four hundred hearers weekly; in 1882-83 seven degrees were

conferred (4 bachelors, 3 licentiates); a few years ago, a layman* obtained the doctor's degree.

Formerly the Catholic Church in France had as many Faculties of Theology as there were Universities. At present there are only four in the departments: Aix, Bordeaux, Lyons and Rouen. The first of these, established in the ecclesiastical metropolis of Provence, comprises five courses of lectures, the same as in Paris with the exception of *Hebrew* and *Canon Law*. Each professor gives a public lecture before an audience mostly composed of laymen, and a private lecture to which the ecclesiastical students of the *grand séminaire* alone are admitted. The professors, besides this, assist the archbishop of Aix in various proceedings tending to the development of instruction among the clergy, and contribute to certain special publications—among which we beg leave to quote the curious inquiries of Abbé Figuières on the 'Cultivation of the vine-tree by the ancients'; the research of Abbé Rance on a handful of unpublished letters of Fénelon, on Erasmus and Luther;—lastly, the investigations of Abbé Ricard on the doctrines of Lamennais' school and the works of Montalembert. The faculty of Aix has conferred, this year, six bachelors' and two doctors' degrees.

The faculty of Bordeaux, established in the ancient capital of Aquitaine, is not less active than that of Aix, in Provence. It comprises six courses of lectures, the same as in Paris, Hebrew excepted. Every day of the week one of the professors draws round his person an assiduous audience of about fifty hearers. Mgr. Cirot de la Ville, who gives lectures on the Holy Writ, has just published the third and last volume of his 'Essay of Sacred Philosophy' ('*Essai de philosophie sacrée*'). Abbé Laprie, who has undertaken the task of revising the historical trial of Alexander VI. Borgia, after the documents published by *pater* Leonetti, has given out an edition of the 'Oraisons funèbres' of Mgr. de la Bouillerie, of the late Cardinal Donnet, archbishop of Bordeaux, and of Mgr. Fournier,

* M. Menuisier, clerk at our Foreign Office.

bishop of Nantes. Finally, Abbé Callen is at the head of the 'Revue d'Aquitaine,' where everything is published which relates to the history and acts of the diocese. One bachelor, two licentiates and one doctor, have obtained their degrees this year.

Like the sister faculties of Aix and Bordeaux, the faculty of Rouen enjoys the high protection of the archbishop, who insists upon the students of the *grand séminaire* attending the lectures. Abbé Delalonde, the dean, during the last few years, gives lectures on the Church of France, in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, and more specially on the important commotion, brought about by the outbreak of Jansenism. Abbé J. Loth, professor of pulpit eloquence, has endeavoured to make Bourdaloue, the famous preacher, better known to the public; and Abbé Fouard, professor of the Holy Writ, has deserved academical honours for his beautiful 'Life of our Lord J.C.' In addition to their everyday labour, the professors have given evening lectures, which were attended by from about 60 to 80 persons. In 1882-83 the Faculty of Theology of Rouen conferred one bachelor's and one doctor's degree.

The Faculty of Lyons, which comprises six courses of lectures (the same as in Paris, *Canon Law* excepted), is not less active than the three others. Though the students of the *grand séminaire* are not obliged to attend the lectures, the aforesaid establishment is visited by about fifteen attendants for each professor. Among the works published by the Faculty of Lyons we shall mention the studies of the dean, Abbé Guinand, on the 'Language of the Hebrews' (*la langue des Hébreux*); 'the Origin of the alphabet,' (*origine de l'alphabet*); and those of Abbé Chevallard on the life of St. Agobard, bishop of Lyons.

You know, gentlemen, what the confessors of Louis XIV. used to tell him to justify the revocation of the *Édit de Nantes*: "There are no more Protestants in France." It has been likewise alleged, in order to bring about the suppression of the Catholic Faculties of Theology, that they but just vegetate and that is all—that they have no true life in

them. I hope I have proved, by these few words, that such is not quite the case. It is true, as yet, the See of Rome has not granted them the canonical institution, which would compel the members of the higher clergy to take their degrees—but, as one of their professors wrote to me, some time ago, “a word from the bishops would suffice to change the situation altogether.” I hope that the bishops, eager to maintain the old reputation for learning of our French clergymen, will not defer any longer to pronounce that word.

The Protestant Faculties of Theology are not behind their elders, the Catholic Faculties, in point of zeal and industry. *A tout seigneur, tout honneur!* I should have liked to say something of the Academy of Geneva, which is, as it were, the *alma mater* of our own faculties, and still enjoys the privilege of preparing ministers for the French Protestant churches, which was conferred on her by the law of the 18 *Germinal*, an X (1800), but I am limited in my time. . . . I should also have been happy to recall to your minds the noble productions of the Faculty of Strasburg which, owing to the works of MM. Reuss, Bruch, Cunitz, Schmidt, and several others who contributed to the *Revue de Théologie* under the direction of M. Colani, has been, for more than half a century, the mediatrix between German culture and French science. Severed from our beloved country by the war of 1870, the Faculty of Strasburg still remains attached to us by the sacred links of affection and memory, and, as she can no longer supply us with students, she sends us, now and then, one or other of her most able graduates.

I must, therefore, be content to mention the two Faculties of Montauban and Paris, which, after all, are the only ones belonging to the University of France. The Faculty of Montauban was established by a decree of the 17th September, 1808, and is reserved for Calvinists. The cycle of studies comprises four years: one consecrated

to philosophy, the three others to theology, properly so called. In the first section the students, all having their degree of *bachelier-ès-lettres*, are taught *Hebrew*, under the direction of M. Charles Bruston, and the *Greek Dialect* of the New Testament, under that of M. Pédézert. With Michel Nicolas—whose researches on the ‘Doctrines of the Jews during the two centuries before Christ’ (*Doctrines religieuses des Juifs pendant les deux siècles avant J. C.*), and fine studies on the conformity between the doctrines of Christians and those of Plato are well known—they are initiated into the mysteries of philosophy. M. Ed. Sayous the author of a ‘General History of Hungary’ (*Histoire Générale des Hongrois*), which has deserved the public approbation of the French academy, and also of a remarkable work on the ‘English deists and Christianity from Toland to Chubb’ (*Les Déistes anglais et le Christianisme depuis Toland jusqu’à Chubb*), gives lectures on the history of the religions of Greece, Rome, and the East. M. Leenhard, *Docteur-ès-sciences*, exposed the discoveries made in astronomy and natural philosophy. At the end of that first year, the attainments of the young student being tested, he is then admitted to the study of theology. The future ministers of the reformed church attend lectures on *Dogma, Exegesis of the Old Testament; E. of the New Testament, Ecclesiastical History, Morals and Sacred Eloquence*, five branches constituting the higher department of learning in the faculty.* But the professors are not content with their ordinary lectures. They (the greater part of them at least) publish the results of their private studies or contribute to periodicals. Here, we think proper to quote, above all, the work of M. Nicolas on the ‘History of the Academy of Montauban’ (under the press), and an apologetical treatise of M. Doumergue ‘Creation and Evolution.’

The students, fifty-five in number, this year, live nearly all in a seminary, under the superintendence of a *pasteur* appointed by the Minister of Public Worship.

* Names of the incumbents : M.M. 1° Jean Monod, 2° Ch. Bruston, 3° Wabnitz, 4° Doumergue, 5° dean Bois.

They submit to regulations made by themselves, and name a new committee every year. They are formed into different societies, such as "Friends of the Poor," "Evangelical society for propagating the Gospel among the peasantry," "Society of Missions," under the inspection of the son of the venerable dean of French Protestant Missionaries, Mr. Casalis. The students are exercised in the art of reciting and of *extempore* speaking, in order to develop their memory and their aptness to speak in public. As an average the Faculty of Montauban confers fifteen bachelors' degrees every year.

The Protestant Faculty of Theology of Paris is, by far, the youngest of those we have named. It was established by a decree of Marshal Mac-Mahon of the 26 March, 1877, issued on the proposal of M. W. Waddington, at that time Minister of Public Instruction, and is *mixte*, i.e., admits students of both the Protestant churches—Calvinist and Lutheran. By the aforesaid decree, the French Protestant Faculty of Theology of Strasburg was transferred from that city to Paris. But however modest in her beginnings, however small the number of students (about thirty, the free auditors not being comprised with the scholars), she has already rendered great services to the science of divinity in our country, both by the industry and zeal of the professors and by the *thèses* of the graduates. As at Montauban, the young students who have no family in Paris live in a seminary, the regulations of which are very mild and readily accepted by all.

They devote themselves to various practical works, visitation of the poor, teaching in the Sunday Schools. The cycle of studies comprises also four years, divided into two periods of unequal duration. In the preparatory sections MM. Ph. Berger, Ed. Stapfer, Aug. Jundt, teach the elements of Hebrew, Greek (hellenistic), and German, the three sacred languages of modern theology. M. Massebieau gives lectures on the History of Philosophy and on the Fathers of the Church. Those teachers styled "*maîtres de conférence*," or "*chargés de cours*," are already known by their interest-

ing studies: M. Ph. Berger by a writing on the 'Stelæ found at Hadrumetum,' and a treatise 'on the Trinity of the Carthaginians;' M. Stapfer by a book on 'Palestine in the days of J. C. after the New Testament, Josephus and the Talmuds;' and lastly, M. Massebieau by a thesis published to obtain his doctor's degree, 'Les colloques scolaires du xvi^e siècle et leurs auteurs,' 1878. The students, after a public examination, are admitted into the theological section, which comprises also six courses of lectures: *Lutheran Dogma, Reformed Dogma, Evangelical Morals, Exegesis of the Old Testament, Ecclesiastical History, Practical Theology*. Though the Faculty of Theology of Paris has six courses of lectures, and that of Montauban only five, its organisation, on the whole, is less judicious. The exegesis of the New Testament does not form a subject-matter of teaching, and the two professors of dogma, MM. Aug. Sabatier and Eug. Ménégoz, have agreed between themselves to give lectures on that important branch. Though belonging to two different confessions, they are of one mind, inasmuch as they both have a marked predilection for the Apostle Paul, to whom they have both consecrated an important and remarkable work. Practical Theology is also the object of the lectures of two other professors, M. Vigié, one of our most eloquent pastors (whose sermons have just been translated into English), and M. Vaucher, who has undertaken the expositions of the *Catechistic Doctrines*. I, myself, share with M. Jundt* the immense domain of Ecclesiastical History, and we both endeavour to join the example to the precept in publishing the results of our historical researches.† Our dean, M. F. Lichtenberger, Member of the Council of

* Aug. Jundt. *Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen âge et au xvi^e siècle* (1875); *Les Amis de Dieu au xiv^e siècle* (1879).

† G. Bonet Maury. *Gérard Groote, un précurseur de la Réformation au xiv^e siècle* (1879). *Les Origines du Christianisme unitaire chez les Anglais* (1881), translated by Ed. P. Potter Hall, under the title of 'Early sources of English Unitarian Christianity,' with a 'Preface by J. Martineau.' London (1884). *La Doctrine des XII Apôtres* (Paris, 1884, Fischbacher).

Public Instruction, gives lectures on Morals, and takes the greatest pains to keep up with the modern ideas which are put to the test of a sound criticism. Owing to that learned director, the Faculty of Paris holds its rank among the other schools of Reformed Theology. It is to him the Protestants are indebted for the publication of the 'Encyclopedia of the Religious Sciences' (13 vol. 8° Paris, Fischbacher, 1877-1882), a real monument dedicated to the science of religious and moral ideas. His freedom from prejudice, his conciliatory principles have secured the contributions of the best scholars of French Protestantism despite the difference of their opinions, proving thereby that, notwithstanding certain divisions, all the children of the Reformation can live in the same house and work in concert for the advancement of science and piety in our country. Our Faculty has conferred, this year, twelve bachelor's degrees, one licentiate's, one doctor's, the latter to our devoted secretary, Mr. Samuel Berger, for a work already honoured with the approbation of the Institute of France, on the 'French Bible in the Middle Ages,' Paris, 1884.

Upon the whole, gentlemen, we are of opinion that, in our manufacturing and money-making century, the Faculties of Theology play an important part, in preparing young men for the disinterested, I was about to say unpromising, career of the public worship.

In our country, where indifference rather than enmity to religion prevails, they uphold the notions of God, justice, moral liberty, fraternity, sacrifice, immortality, like a torch which sheds its light among the shades of night. Doubtless, the two great Christian Confessions of the West imprint their peculiar stamp on their Faculties of Theology. The Catholic Faculties, bound by the authority of the chief of their church, the infallible organ of truth, leave the dogmas quite out of their speculations, and prefer pursuing the study of exegesis, archæology, and sacred eloquence. The Protestant Faculties, on the contrary, dependent on no other authority than the Word of God and their own conscience, engage boldly in the examination of the Scriptures, of the historical titles of

the church, and do not hesitate to abandon certain tenets, when they have come to the conclusion that the aforesaid doctrines are in opposition with the Gospel. But both the Catholic and Protestant Schools of Theology do their utmost, under the ægis of the University of France, to form an austere, enlightened, tolerant clergy, devoted to the superior interests of their country, and of mankind in general. It is on account of those free and high-spirited tendencies that they deserved to be defended by the great minister who presides over the destinies of our country, and who, in July 1882, before the *Commission of the Faculties*, declared himself a partisan of the Schools of Theology, because, as he said, "*they could render real services to the State, and had never brought on any difficulties.*" "The Faculties of Theology," added Mr. Jules Ferry (speech of the 17th November 1879), "are, above all, establishments of the University. Our Faculties do not belong to a sect, but are the Faculties of the State. Such was the will of the law-givers of the year 1800, those law-givers who had all passed through the evil days of the Revolution, and bore in their hearts the living tradition of 1789; anxious for the destiny of the modern society so mightily protected, but also obstinately attacked, those wise and practical men considered that it was impossible for the State, in its new form, to remain unconcerned, in presence of a social fact no less important than the recruiting of the clergyman."

Since those words of our Premier have been uttered, I am confident that I have proved that the Faculties of Theology in the University of France have not been below their task in accomplishing their mission. We hope that the Government, supported by the opinion of the wisest men in France, shall not be found forgetful of its own.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) stated that the four papers announced for reading would be read consecutively, and discussion afterwards invited upon them all; but before they were proceeded with he would call on Professor

Crombie, of the University of St. Andrew's, to express what he felt sure the section felt, their gratification and thanks to Professor Bonet-Maury for the admirable paper to which they had listened, and he did so because Professor Crombie was as conversant with the course of teaching in the French as he had yesterday shown he was well acquainted with that of the German universities.

Professor CROMBIE was afraid he did not deserve the eulogium which the Chairman had been kind enough to pass, but he was fortunately able to state something from personal knowledge with regard to the state of university teaching in France, as manifested in the theological faculty of the Sorbonne, where he had had the great pleasure to attend a course of lectures on some branches of theological study, delivered by some of those great men whose names had been mentioned in Professor Bonet-Maury's paper. He well recollected the enthusiasm evoked by the lectures of the Abbé Bargés, who, he was glad to hear, was still continuing his researches into Oriental inscriptions and Oriental tongues. The Abbé had an audience not very large, but very sympathetic, for his course of lectures on the prophecies of Isaiah, which he treated with the erudition which only so great a scholar could display, and a breadth of view which struck all who had the advantage of hearing them. He had also had the great privilege of listening to the lectures of the Abbé Freppel, now Bishop of Anjou, and he well remembered how entranced his audience were as the eloquent periods fell from his tongue when lecturing on one of the greatest of the early fathers, Tertullian, for whose writings he, by his eloquent treatment of them, evoked a positive enthusiasm in the minds of his hearers, or at least in the mind of one of them. Then, he had had the good fortune to listen to the lectures of another of the theological teachers, who taught his hearers how to preach extemporaneously without the aid of manuscript, though not necessarily without previous preparation ; and he could well remember being struck with the manner in which the eloquent Abbé

Bautain's precepts were realised and exemplified by his own eloquent and beautiful utterances. In the long roll of illustrious teachers, too short indeed, for they knew how many names there were of men illustrious in the history of theological teaching in the universities and colleges of France, many had been necessarily omitted, but those names were a sufficient refutation of the charge which had been frequently brought against the Church of Rome, a charge which, in his own humble opinion, could not be at all substantiated, that she had been the foe of theological learning. On the contrary, he would say that the Church of Rome, as during the Middle Ages she had been the patron of the fine arts, had kept alive the lamp of theological learning throughout the troubles of Europe. In France the lamp of theological learning never went out, and they might point to the Sorbonne as one of the most illustrious institutions which had kept up and extended in various ways the whole study of theological science. In that respect one great work of the present day might be referred to as unrivalled in the history of theological science, the great 'Library of the Greek and Latin Fathers,' by the Abbé Migne, which was one of the most stupendous undertakings ever entered upon by any man. Though happily finished, great as was the labour involved in its production, it could not now unfortunately be obtained in its entirety, in consequence of one of those unhappy accidents which occasionally bring about the destruction of the greatest works, viz., a fire, at the Printing Press of Paris, which had destroyed a considerable part of that work. That was an undertaking entailing stupendous labour, which had been entered upon from the highest motives which could animate the mind of a scholar. A few words might be said with regard to the teaching in the Protestant theological schools of France. There were in France three great faculties (for even that of Paris, though the youngest of all, was worthy of the name), those of Strasburg, Montauban, and Paris. The works put forth by the Faculty of Strasburg which now

belongs to Germany, were well known, and all who took an interest in biblical studies were familiar with the names of many of the members of that school. He might point to one, Professor Holzmann, late of Heidelberg but now of Strasburg, who was well known as an illustrious New Testament scholar. To refer next to Montauban, all who took an interest in theological studies were acquainted with the works of M. Nicholas and his contemporary the late M. Adolphe Monod. Then, going on to the University of Paris, they came upon the great name of Lichtenberger, who was the author of a work on the 'History of Religious Ideas,' which might be commended to the attention of all interested in the history of theology. Then the name of Pressensé was one of the best known of those connected with the Protestant College of Paris, and nothing needed to be said by way of eulogium upon one who was so well known and so highly appreciated in this country and in America by his works, 'The History of the Life of Christ,' and 'The History of the First Three Centuries of the Church,' which were written with all the sparkling vivacity which was the characteristic of modern Frenchmen. It was with particular pleasure that he had risen to move a vote of thanks to Professor Bonet-Maury for his most interesting and valuable Paper, interesting not only on account of its historical allusions, but as being a record of a long roll of great names connected with the history of theology in France.

The vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. BRYCE, M.P., then took the chair at Lord REAY'S invitation.

ON THEOLOGICAL TEACHING IN A UNIVERSITY.

By the Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D.

IN order to observe the limits assigned to this paper, it will be necessary to confine attention to one aspect of the wide subject under discussion ; and I propose to dwell on one peculiar characteristic which should be impressed on theological teaching, by virtue of its holding a place in the system of a University. It is the function of a University, not only, in Lord Bacon's phrase, to take all knowledge to be its province, but to bring all the various branches of knowledge into organic unity. It is not enough that every science should be studied and taught within its limits. It renders a still more important service by ensuring that they should be studied and taught in friendly association, under a sense that each is indispensable to all the rest, and that unless they are cultivated in union, some one-sided development of thought and life is sure, sooner or later, to ensue. An increasing sense of this indissoluble union of the various sciences has, in certain directions, especially marked recent thought, and has been vividly realised at our Universities. What has been termed, for instance, the historical method of study, which has of late assumed such prominence, affords a familiar and eminent illustration of this principle. The patient observation of the historical development of laws, institutions, and customs, has produced important modifications in the prevalent views on various legal, political, and religious questions ; and this method of observation has itself been vastly influenced by the example afforded by physical researches. The revelation which physical science has exhibited of some of the more subtle operations of nature, has taught men to be on the watch for similarly unsuspected influences in the general development of human life, and has led them to consider almost every branch of knowledge from a novel

point of view. Now, it is the very office of a University to ensure and facilitate this mutual influence and interaction of the various lines of human thought. Students and teachers in different subjects are brought together in a degree which is impracticable elsewhere. They are required to combine in a harmonious system of instruction, are obliged to meet in their pupils and in their colleagues tones of thought, and views of facts, which might otherwise have escaped their due attention, and are thus perpetually being compelled to review their own special branch of truth in the light of others. It has been said that in politics it is very difficult to get people to attend to more than one subject of interest at the same time. But that is the great difficulty of the human mind in all spheres of its action. At one period it is concentrated on theology, at another on philosophy, at another on natural science; and in each new excitement it is apt to do injustice to its former interests. Universities are a standing protection against this danger. The balance of thought is indeed readily distracted within them for a time, but their constitution tends constantly to readjust it, by assuring that every science shall have a due hearing within their limits.

Let us apply these considerations to the position of Theology within a University. It is unnecessary to do more than refer in passing to the argument they afford for the paramount necessity of maintaining a faculty of theology in any institution which claims to be a University. That necessity is happily recognised in these Conferences, by the very fact that papers on this subject have been appointed to be read. It is very appropriate that Conferences in connection with a Health Exhibition should have acted on the first clause of the Athanasian Creed, and should have been arranged in accordance with the proposition that *Quicumque vult salvus fieri* "Whoever desires to be in sound health," in the largest sense of the word, "before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith." The phrase translated in our Bible, "the knowledge of salvation," is rendered in Wycliffe's version "the science of health;"

and history at least bears unquestionable testimony to the fact that an unsound Theology, involving, as it must, unsound religious and moral tendencies, is incompatible with the healthy development of a race or a nation. Theology and religion have been factors of overwhelming import in the course of human thought and life, and to neglect or discourage their study is at least a grievous defect in a University.

But for our present purpose this point may be regarded as admitted, and it remains to consider how the peculiar functions of a University, as just described, affect the teaching of Theology. On no subject are the principles just illustrated of greater, if of equal, importance. Up to a certain point some sciences may be successfully cultivated without reference to others. Mathematics, for instance, occupy to a large extent an abstract domain of their own, and a man may escape from all reality by entangling himself in a labyrinth of "cycle upon epicycle, orb on orb." Even here, indeed, it is remarkable that the greatest advances of the science have been effected in harmony with physical researches, and have been called forth by them. It is as the interpreter of nature, not as the mere exponent of abstract thought, that mathematical science has achieved its present development. Even here it is from the "*commercium mentis et rerum*" that the chief results have sprung. But whatever partial exceptions to this principle may exist in other sciences, its application to Theology is paramount and invariable. The truths of Christian Theology, whether natural or revealed, were made known amidst the most intense practical experiences of flesh and blood, and are vital in proportion as they are maintained in contact with those experiences. They sprang out of the struggles of the conscience or the perplexities of the intellect, or were revealed as the remedy for the one and as the solution for the other. The true character of Theology is expressed by the Apostle who is distinguished as the Divine, when he couples together the most eternal verities and the most human and vivid experiences. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with

our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life—for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us—that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.” The consequence is that, historically, Theology has been vigorous and sound in proportion as it has been maintained in contact with actual life, and with the various problems which life presents. In the first three centuries, the religious teaching of the Christian Fathers achieved its hold over the mind of the ancient world, partly by the thoroughness and determination with which it grappled with the moral evils of daily life, and partly by the equal resoluteness and thoroughness with which it entered into all the philosophical problems of the time. The greatest of all examples of University teaching, in this respect, was afforded in the third century by Origen; who, as we are told by his pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus, laid the foundation of his theological instruction in a complete study of the learning of the day. Beginning with careful training in the use of words, and in logic, he led his hearers, in succession, through physics, geometry, astronomy, ethical science and philosophy, bidding them read all authors, the atheistic alone excepted; and through this comprehensive discipline, he led them to the interpretation of the oracles of God. The power of the great fathers who followed, especially in the Western Church, was that they grasped, with so firm a hand, the practical necessities of life in those stormy centuries; and, like the great Pope who first brought the barbarian world under Christian sway, established Theology as the practical rule of life. Once more, when Theology revived at the Reformation, one of the chief causes was that Luther and his followers took it out of the schools, in which it had become artificial and unreal, and brought it again into contact with the living struggles of the conscience, and with the lights of the new learning.

It is in proportion as Theology has thus been maintained in constant and friendly intercourse with history, with philosophy, with natural science, and above all with

the moral necessities of life, that it has been vigorous, free from error, and vivifying in its influence. Of course its inherent vitality is derived from the Scriptures, and from the influence of their Divine Author upon the soul of man. But it is still in great measure left subject to the laws of all other sciences, and needs their assistance and co-operation. For example—to take matters which are pressing upon us at the present day—a just apprehension of the true character of miraculous action cannot be attained without a careful consideration of the principles and facts of natural science; the method and order of the Divine revelation cannot be fully apprehended without a due knowledge of the facts which are being daily revealed by historical and archæological research; there are most important questions at issue between Christian communities, on points of organisation and discipline, which cannot be adequately discussed without a full knowledge, not merely of strictly ecclesiastical history, but of the general history of the world, and of the political circumstances of various ages. The value of all these sciences is not, as has just been said, to furnish us with the principles of Theology, which come from an independent source, but to enable us to apprehend their exact bearing and their true limits, and to clear away the misconceptions with which in all ages they have been liable to be obscured. The truths of Christian theology, if truths at all, are not only inherently the most important of all, but stand at the centre of all the rest, and are touched by them on all sides; and these points of contact must be determined, if either the one or the other are to be adequately apprehended. Without Christian Theology, any system of ethics must needs be imperfect, human history is without its key, natural philosophy may, in Lord Bacon's image, obscure from our gaze the larger part of the universe, by preventing us from seeing the face of the heavens. But, on the other hand, Theology immediately becomes narrow, if not perverted, unless its doctrines are tested by the truths of ethics, by the evidence of history, and by the facts of natural science. To maintain this har-

mony between Theology and all other spheres of human life is, in an eminent degree, the function of a University.

How is it to be accomplished? It will only be possible to indicate two or three conditions to which these considerations point. They point, above all things, to the principle that the Theological Faculty in a University should be kept in the closest possible contact with the other Faculties, and should be protected from the danger of being too much specialised. For example, they point to the wisdom of the old rule of our Universities, according to which a student was not allowed to proceed to the Faculty of Theology until he had acquired a competent acquaintance with Arts. It is not unnecessary at the present time to dwell on the wisdom of this principle; for the tendency to specialise study, the institution of various class lists, the permission to take degrees in special faculties, may readily be carried so far as to divert a student to Theology before he has laid that foundation of general knowledge, of which Origen set so admirable an example. The danger of such excessive and premature specialisation is equally great to teachers and to students. The former are the more readily tempted to narrow their teaching; the latter are deprived of an invaluable security for insuring their sympathy, as theologians and religious teachers, with all branches of human thought and life. For the same purpose it is essential that the teachers of Theology should be intimately associated, by their regular duties, with the rest of the intellectual life of the University, and that they should never become the representatives of a religious community only. This condition, it is evident, involves another, namely, that the other teachers of a University should be substantially in harmony with its theological teachers. There is no need of an agreement on secondary points of doctrine; but unless there is a substantial agreement the teaching of the one science cannot assist the teaching of the others as it ought; students must be distracted, and time must be wasted in barren discussion of first principles. If the Christian creed be true, it is the

central truth of the world ; and to appoint University teachers of any kind who are indifferent to it, is like appointing a professor to a chair of mathematics whose mind is free from prejudice as to the truth of the law of gravitation. The problem is to maintain the utmost degree of liberty consistent with general harmony of view ; and it is a peculiarly difficult one, especially at the present day. But we are considering here what is in itself desirable, and for that purpose this mutual sympathy between the various faculties of a University is indispensable.

For a similar reason it is of the highest importance to maintain the Theological Faculty in union with the practical moral teaching of the University. To give men the responsibility for the moral training of students, in any degree, is to compel them to put their Theology to the test of practice, to realise its bearings upon the daily wants of human nature, and thus to steady their speculations. It is difficult to suppose that some of the theories of German professors, or such flippant criticisms as M. Renan has passed upon portions of St. John's Gospel, could ever have been endured, by either students or teachers, if the practical bearings of such teaching had been forced upon their minds by this daily responsibility. For this purpose the institution of University Sermons has a very high value. Properly used, it compels the theological teachers of a University to bring their views to the test of practical life, and introduces students to theological thought through their deepest and most permanent necessities. In short, the danger to be above all things guarded against is that of treating Theology as a theoretical and speculative Faculty. Keep it in contact with the life of the University, and keep the life of the University in harmony with it, and the chief requisites for its effectual cultivation will be secured.

ON THEOLOGICAL TEACHING IN A UNIVERSITY: ITS SUBDIVISION INTO VARIOUS BRANCHES.

By The Rev. Canon MALCOM MACCOLL.

THERE are various branches of what is often loosely included under the designation of theological study ; such as ecclesiastical history, biblical criticism, exegesis, liturgiology, apologetics, philosophy, ethics, Hebrew, and Greek. But, strictly speaking, these are not theology, though they are subsidiary to theology and illustrate it. Theology proper—that is, dogmatic theology—means the science which treats of God as He is in Himself, and as He is related to the created universe. It is the importance of this, as a branch of university study, that I wish to urge in the observations which follow.

But we are met at starting by a preliminary objection. God, we are told, is “unknowable,” and theology—that is, a science which professes to deal with “the unknowable”—is a contradiction in terms, since science implies knowledge. But what does the Agnostic mean by pronouncing God to be “unknowable?” Not that nothing is or can be known about a Supreme Being, but that His nature cannot be comprehended. Mr. Herbert Spencer, who is one of the ablest and most candid of Agnostic teachers, writes as follows :—

“Respecting the nature of the universe, we seem committed to certain unavoidable conclusions. The objects and actions surrounding us, not less than the phenomena of our own consciousness, compel us to ask a cause ; in our search for a cause we discover no resting-place until we arrive at the hypothesis of a First Cause ; and we have no alternative but to regard this First Cause as Infinite and Absolute.” *

* ‘First Principles,’ ch. ii.

And then Mr. Spencer goes on to argue that there can be no science concerning this First Cause, since He must remain for ever "inscrutable" :—

"If religion and science" (he says) "are to be reconciled, the basis of reconciliation must be the deepest, widest, and most certain of all facts—that the Power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable."

He contrasts religion and science, you will observe, as two things which are separate and distinct, and asserts that they can never be reconciled except by the confession on the part of religion that the gulf between them is impassable, because the subject-matter of religion is "inscrutable." All Christians would of course admit that there is a sense in which God is "inscrutable." In fact, theologians, from Job downwards, have insisted on that truth quite as strenuously as any Agnostic :—

"Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man" (says Hooker) "to wade far into the doings of the Most High ; Whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name, yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not as He is, neither can know Him ; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, when we confess without confession that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth ; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few."

But if we can have no science of anything which is inscrutable, it is hard to see how we can have any science at all :—

"Creation" (says Bishop Butler) "is absolutely and entirely out of our depth, and beyond the extent of our utmost reach. And yet it is as certain that God made the world as it is certain that effects must have a cause. It is indeed, in general, no more than effects that the most knowing are acquainted with ; for as to causes, they are as entirely in the dark as the most ignorant."

Mr. Herbert Spencer himself would hardly quarrel with that statement of the case ; for he argues that infinite space

and endless time, and matter, in its essential properties, are all inscrutable. "Matter," he says, though we can see and handle it, "in its ultimate nature is as incomprehensible as space and time." Yet, for all that, we have a science of matter, and Mr. Herbert Spencer is one of its foremost expounders.

Why, then, should the fact of God being inscrutable preclude the possibility of our having some knowledge of Him and arranging that knowledge in scientific order? If we can learn a great deal about the material creation without being able to comprehend "its ultimate nature," why may we not learn a great deal about the Creator while we confess that He is past finding out? Very few are the words in which Mr. Herbert Spencer expresses all that he professes to know of the First Cause; yet those few words contain a whole system of theology. "It is absolutely certain," he says, that we are in "the presence of an Infinite, Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed." To the eye of instructed reason that brief admission will draw after it a whole body of divinity as surely as to the eye of the anatomist a single bone will reveal the structure and character of the body to which it belonged. "The man who proclaims the existence of the Infinite," says one of the most distinguished lights—in his own department the most distinguished light—of physical science:—

"The man who proclaims the Infinite (and no one can avoid it) accumulates in that affirmation more of the supernatural than can be found in all the miracles recorded in all religions. For the notion of the Infinite has this double character—that it is at once self-evident and incomprehensible. When that notion masters our mind, nothing is left for us but to prostrate ourselves in adoration." *

If "it is absolutely certain," as Mr. Herbert Spencer assures us, that behind the veil of visible phenomena there is "the presence of an Energy," which is "Infinite, Eternal, and from which all things proceed," Reason suggests at

* Speech of M. Pasteur, on his admission to the Academy.—See *Débats* of April 28, 1882.

least, if it does not demand, the additional attributes of intelligence and will ; and intelligence and will imply personality ; and personality implies social capacities ; and social capacities in a perfect Being imply the means of gratifying them ; and the means of gratifying them imply the co-existence in Mr. Spencer's " Infinite Eternal Energy " of more than one Person. So that our Agnostic philosopher's definition of his First Cause starts us, by logical inference, on our way towards the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which is a truth of Revelation.

So much, then, as to the alleged unfitness of theology for admission into the hierarchy of the sciences on the ground of its subject-matter being " unknowable." In so far as the objection has any validity at all, it is valid, in greater or less degree, against all sciences. Our knowledge of them all is only partial and relative ; in no case absolute and complete.

Another common objection against a scientific study of theology is that it tends to cramp the mind and fetter thought. Christian dogmas are regarded in some quarters as illegal fences put up by usurping theologians on the salubrious common of free thought, to prevent the enjoyment of it by all except a select few. Now a common may be enclosed for various reasons. It may be enclosed *against* the people for the purpose of keeping them out of it. Or it may be enclosed *on behalf* of the people to prevent intruders from breaking it up and distributing it among themselves.

It is in the second of these two senses that dogmatic definitions of faith are fences. Their purpose is not to abridge the area of belief, but to guard its latitude. The Church Catholic is necessarily more comprehensive than any community or set of men who dissent on particular grounds. Her original creed was exceedingly short and simple, and it was gradually enlarged in the interest of comprehension, not in the interest of sectarian exclusiveness. Theological definitions were laid down in self-defence in order to guard the common for the whole body of

Christians against the assaults of various parties who would have divided it among themselves, each party railing in his own plot to the exclusion of the rest. It was the heterodox parties, let it be remembered, who began the war of limitations, and sought by definitions to narrow the Church of Christ. The orthodox party, on the other hand, swept away those specialities and fenced the field of faith with fresh definitions to protect its boundaries. Take the Arian heresy, for example. Till then the Church was content to express her faith in Christ's divinity by simply calling Him the only Son of God the Father. That was too broad and simple a definition for Arius. So he sought to narrow it, to make it less comprehensive. He insisted that our Lord was "made of a substance which once was not," and, therefore, that "there was a time when He was not." That, of course, was to reduce our Lord to the rank of a mere creature, and the Church met the heretical limitation by the definition of the Nicene Creed, that Christ was "begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father."

And so with all other dogmatic definitions—I mean definitions of faith which are binding on all Christians by the authority of the universal Church. The object of them all is to repel the limitations attempted by individuals and parties, and thus to protect the creed of Christendom as the common heritage of all. Examine every heresy known to history, and you will find in every case that it has tried to narrow the field of thought, to cut off something from the common stock, to contract the circle of the Christian faith. In truth, all sciences have their dogmas—that is, ultimate truths which the mind first accepts on trust—on the authority of others, and afterwards proves to its own reason, if its knowledge and capacity enable it. Freedom of thought does not consist in a mental condition of chronic doubt, but in the liberty to work out the right conclusion. Freedom of thought is not restrained by the dogmas of mathematics; yet it would be an offence against reason to suppose that any proposition of Euclid admits of more than one conclusion. A man may have a difficulty in

solving a mathematical problem for himself, without doubting that there is a solution, and that a particular solution is the only true one. Difficulty and doubt are not the same thing; and freedom is opposed to force, not to mental certainty. The most distinguished names in theology have also been remarkable for their intellectual fecundity, their power of impregnating the minds of successive generations with the seeds of great ideas which have borne fruit in their season and given a fresh impulse to the pursuit of truth. It will suffice to give as examples the names of St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, and our own Bishop Butler.

Another objection to the systematic study of theology is that it is, at the best, a barren study. What does it matter, we often hear it said, what a man believes in matters of religion, provided he lives a good moral life? Pope has given terse expression to that view in the well-known lines:—

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

But that is a shallow sophism, for it assumes the very point in dispute, by asserting that a man's life *can* be “in the right” while his creed is in the wrong. But can it? Does not the history of mankind answer in the negative? Whence came we? Whither are we going? What means that mysterious inward monitor which speaks to us of right and wrong, and sounds the alarm of a future retribution? Does it not point to some mysterious Power from Whom we came and to Whom we must return? What is the character of that Power? and how shall we demean ourselves towards Him?

These are questions which the heart of man has been asking itself in all ages and countries, and which it cannot cease to ask till it has ceased to beat. To worship, in some form or other, a Being supreme over human destiny is an instinct co-extensive with humanity; and universal experience proves that man necessarily becomes morally assimilated to the object of his homage. If that object be pure

and noble, it will generate a pure and noble character in the worshipper ; if impure and cruel, the character moulded by it will also be impure and cruel. What is the history of Paganism but one long and sad illustration of this truth?—

“Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust.”

Such is Pope's own description of the deities of heathen mythology, and it is a proof of his shallow philosophy that he could imagine that a man's life could possibly be in the right while it succumbed to the demoralising influences of such “modes of faith” as these. No fact in history is more certain than that the character of a people is moulded by their faith. Look at Mahomedanism. It is the religion of a large variety of races, differing from each other in climate, language, history, and in mental and bodily characteristics. Yet one type of moral character pervades them all. They are, in the mass, impure, cruel, arrogant, corrupt, unprogressive—characteristics which are all encouraged by the religion which they profess. The most prominent attribute in the god of Islam is stern, relentless, fateful power. He has no tenderness. To predicate fatherhood of him, or attribute to him any other of the affections of human relationship, is rank blasphemy according to the Koran. And his rule is not founded on righteousness, but on favouritism. The Koran represents Mahomed as a special favourite whom Allah humours as an Oriental despot would be likely to humour a favourite Minister. Does the Prophet wish to indulge some foul lust? or gratify some cruel passion? or perpetrate some gross treachery? In each case he receives without delay a divine revelation to sanction the sin, and thereby transmute it into a virtue. And these sanctions of iniquity, with many others, are in the Koran, and must continue to shape the characters of all for whom the Koran is the rule of faith and practice.

There are those, however, who think that this influence of faith on conduct and character may be avoided by the expedient of having no distinct faith at all. Let us by all

means, they say, admire the moral sentiments of the Gospel and practise its moral precepts ; but do not let us trouble ourselves about its doctrines. Vain thought ! The morality of Christianity is inseparable from its doctrines, and could not long survive their general decay. Doubtless it would survive for some time. The atmosphere of Christendom has been for centuries so charged with Christian ideas and Christian principles that no one can get rid of the influence of Christianity by simply rejecting its creed. And, therefore, no one brought up in a Christian land can say how he would conduct himself if he could rid himself of the contagion of Christianity. He cannot rid himself of it. Nor can even a whole nation do so by a universal apostasy—I mean a nation that has been Christian for centuries. The modification of character inherited from generations of Christian ancestors cannot be undone at once by an act of arbitrary choice. An Englishman is said to carry with him to Northern Russia an amount of animal heat which it takes three years to reduce to the normal temperature of the natives. In the same way the Christian morals of a people would be sure to survive for some time the ruin of their faith. But they would not survive very long. And the reason is plain. Moral character is rooted in the affections rather than in the intellect, and the affections *will* cling to some object. They cannot live in a vacuum. And as they will inevitably be influenced and moulded by the object to which they attach themselves, the nature and character of that object become matters of vital importance. But an inquiry into the nature and character of the object of worship implies theology. Thus we see how idle is the attempt to divorce morality from dogma. Morality separated from dogma will gradually, but as certainly, expire as a piece of coal taken out of the fire and left alone with its borrowed heat. Let me cite an unsuspected witness in support of that conclusion. In a speech delivered in the French Academy two years ago, on the occasion of the admission of M. Cherbuliez, M. Renan described the gradual conversion of the new Academician's

father from faith to scepticism ; and then went on to explain how much the son had benefited by the faith in which the father had once believed :—

“ It is often to these formulas ” (says Renan, pensively) “ that we unwittingly owe the remains of all virtue which we possess. In our generation we live on a shadow, on the perfume of a vase which once was full and now is empty. After us men will have to live on the shadow of a shadow ; and I often fear on something lighter still.”

If, therefore, our morality as a nation is to continue to be Christian, we cannot afford to dispense with dogmatic theology in our seats of learning. And if dogmatic theology is to form the basis of our morality, it is necessary that our teachers should themselves be thoroughly taught. But they are not likely to be well instructed in theology unless they have previously passed through the discipline of a sound liberal education ; and nowhere can that discipline be so efficiently supplied as in a University. Hence the importance of theological teaching as a branch of University education.

But it may be well, before I conclude, to define more precisely what I mean by dogmatic theology. I mean that body of religious truths which to a Christian are articles of necessary faith. These truths—though they have exercised some of the greatest intellects of the world, and have filled libraries with their abundant fruits—are briefly summed up in the twelve articles of the Apostles’ Creed. Nothing which is not explicitly stated, or logically implied, or historically found in those twelve articles can be a dogma of necessary faith. All religious truths are not dogmas of faith. Two things are necessary to make a dogma. First, it must have been revealed in the Word of God ; secondly, it must be among the truths proposed by the whole Catholic Church throughout the world to all her children as necessary to be believed with Divine faith. The second condition implies the first ; for the Church has no power to impose as an article of faith anything, however true or edifying it may be in itself, which has not

been revealed in Holy Scripture, and taught continuously from the time of the Apostles to our own. An article of faith can never be an open question; and, on the other hand, no opinion or doctrine which the Church has allowed to remain for any time an open question can ever be legitimately imposed as an article of faith. Take, for example, the definition of the Nicene Creed, already referred to, against the Arian heresy. It made no addition to the faith; it imposed no new dogma; it merely fenced an old dogma with a new definition as a shield against heretical assailants. In no period of the Church's history would the heresy of Arius have been allowed to remain an open question. Nobody would have been considered a Christian who distinctly maintained, as Arius did, that Christ had personally a beginning. It follows that whatever was not a dogma before the death of the last of the Apostles cannot have become a dogma since, and can never become a dogma hereafter. And the reason is that the articles of the Christian faith are a revelation made once for all, and therefore incapable of either addition or subtraction. Dogmatic theology, you see, is thus rooted in history. Our Incarnate Lord Himself is an historical Person, whose life on earth, and whose death and resurrection, rest on historical evidence. When an article of faith—like our Lord's Divinity, for example—was called in question by any formidable heresy, what happened? A General Council of the Bishops of the whole Church was summoned to decide the matter. And how did they decide it? By each of the assembled Bishops bearing testimony to the traditional belief of his diocese on the question in dispute. If these testimonies agreed together the evidence was considered complete, and the Council decided accordingly.

The tendency of the day is in the direction of giving up the systematic teaching of theology as a necessary part of a University education—at least in the case of undergraduates who intend to follow a lay career. We shall probably see ere long the omission of divinity from the

list of subjects in which the ordinary layman must submit to examination. And it must be owned that the present system is itself largely responsible for the Nemesis which is overtaking it. Can anything be more shallow and slipshod than the kind of theological knowledge which the mass of our laity have usually carried away from the Universities? How is it possible to be enthusiastic in defence of a system of which it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it has been more careful to give accurate instruction in heathen mythology than in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith? I wonder how many of those who are now listening to me, some of them men of University education, would stand the test of examination in the articles of the Apostles' Creed. Would not some of you, for example, stumble at the expression, "Mother of God," as applied to the Virgin Mary? Yet to repudiate that expression is to deny the doctrine of the Incarnation. For if the Virgin Mary may not rightly be called "Mother of God," it follows that the child born of her was not God. Of course she was not the mother of His Godhead—it were blasphemy to affirm it; she was the mother of His manhood only. Nevertheless, she is the "Mother of God" because the Person born of her was God. To refuse her the title of "Mother of God" is thus to refuse her son the title of God. It was, therefore, not so much to exalt the dignity of the mother as to protect the divinity of the Son that the Council of Ephesus bestowed on the Virgin Mary the title of Theotokos. And people stumble at the expression because they have never had explained to them the simple doctrine of what is technically called the *Communicatio Idiomatum*—namely, that we are justified in predicating of Christ's Person in the abstract the properties which belong in the concrete to either of his Natures. Thus we may say that God died upon the Cross, meaning thereby that the Person who died upon the Cross was God, though the nature which died was human. St. Paul accordingly does not scruple to speak of the "Church of God, which He (i.e. God) purchased with His blood." And St. Peter accused the

Jews of having "crucified the Lord of Glory." On the other hand, we may say that the Son of Man is omnipotent and omnipresent, because the Son of Man is very God. Our Lord spoke of Himself while on earth as "the Son of Man who *is* in heaven."

Doubtless it is also from ignorance that so many excellent persons object to the Athanasian Creed. They imagine that the Athanasian Creed dooms to everlasting perdition all persons who fall into intellectual error respecting any of the doctrines defined in that Creed. The truth is, however, that the Athanasian Creed dooms to perdition no single individual who ever lived. The Creed, to begin with, is meant for professing Christians alone; it passes no judgment at all on any who are outside the pale of Christianity. In the second place, its menaces apply to classes of offenders rather than to individuals; or, to put it in another way, they apply to individuals, *quâ* offenders, and not *quâ* individuals. The distinction is a real one, as you will see at once if we transfer the question from the region of faith to that of morals. St. Paul and St. John, for instance, tell us that drunkards, liars, and other specified sinners, shall not inherit the kingdom of God—in other words, shall "perish everlastingly"; for exclusion from God's presence is perdition. But did the Apostles mean that any individual drunkard or liar would perish everlastingly? By no means. It is the drunkard *quâ* drunkard, and not the drunkard *quâ* man, who is condemned. Moreover, we call no man a drunkard who has become intoxicated through accident or ignorance; nor is any man formally a heretic who denies the faith through ignorance, or from any cause for which he is himself not primarily responsible. Heresy means wilful rejection of the truth after one has known it. The Athanasian Creed, therefore, applies to no one who does not continue persistently in wilful error; nor, in the second place, does it pass judgment on the final condition even of the obstinate heretic. It says, indeed, that the Arian, the Nestorian, and other heretics, "shall perish everlastingly." It does *not* say—a

very different proposition—that Arius, Nestorius, or any other heretic in particular, “shall perish everlastingly.” Death puts an end to the jurisdiction of the Church over her members. She pronounces no opinion, still less judgment, on the eternal destiny of any individual soul that has passed the portals of death. For aught I know, or the Church knows, Arius, Nestorius, and other heresiarchs who vexed the Church on earth, may now be in bliss. But in that case Arius is no longer an Arian nor Nestorius a Nestorian. And it is on the Arian and Nestorian, not on the individual men who bore those names on earth, that the Athanasian Creed passes judgment.

I am sure that much of the floating scepticism which pervades society is due to ignorance of what the doctrines of Christianity really are. Uninstructed minds identify Christianity with some form of error against which their consciences revolt, and they reject, as they think, Christianity, whereas what they really reject is something different from Christianity, and indeed antagonistic to it. Calvinism is thus largely responsible for the infidelity of the day. People refuse to believe in a God whose character contradicts the primordial instincts of the human conscience; and they are right. Where they are wrong is in believing that such a God is the God of Christianity.

Surely the remedy for all this is a more accurate, a more systematic instruction in the Articles of the Creed; and this, not in the case of candidates for holy orders only, but for all. What is needed is not a formal and perfunctory *getting up* by rote of articles and creeds, with a view to a compulsory examination, but an intelligent and appreciative understanding of what creeds and articles mean. Surely theology might be so taught at our Universities as to make men see that, in Bacon’s phrase, it is “the queen of sciences”; that, if true at all, it is the one truth which unifies all knowledge, and therefore makes the teaching of it especially appropriate to a University. What a vastly different meaning literature itself has according as one views it in the light of theology or apart from that

light! In the one case literature will be supposed to vary just as man varies, and to picture man as he is without a standard. According to the other view, the worth of literature will depend upon its power to bring out that side of human nature which unites man with God.

In like manner what a different meaning physical science has for those who suppose it to be the puzzling out of a riddle of which no living person has the key—nay, to which, for aught we know, there may be no key—and for those who suppose physical science to be the knowledge of natural laws which had been providentially withheld from us till the far more important knowledge of moral laws had been thoroughly impressed on us. If the revelations of physical science had preceded those of moral law, what a Pandemonium this world would have been! Surely the remarkable fact, that a law like the Decalogue far preceded a sound knowledge of the laws and forces of nature, shows that there is a Power above to impress itself upon the world before the powers that are below our own highest level have had any serious attention paid to them.

How different a study is history according as we take it to be “a mighty maze . . . without a plan,” a mere reflection of the social life of men groping after the best mode of living together in a world without any government; or, as we suppose it to be the reflection of social habits formed under the guidance of Divine laws which men have more or less wilfully broken, and paid the penalty of breaking.

If, then, the Divine and the purely human view of everything which a University teaches is so different, surely theology ought to make a struggle for itself as a real science which men can only neglect at their peril—at the peril of taking a totally false view of every other branch of knowledge which a University teaches. If theology could thus be restored to its proper place in our Universities, there might, perhaps, be no great reason to regret the omission of those superficial examinations in divinity which have generally left the lay student nearly as ignorant of divinity as he was before.

The Rev. Canon MCCOLL added that with regard to disputed dogmas of the Church, such as the question of the Virgin Mary being the mother of God, all sciences had dogmas of their own, and theology was not peculiar in that respect.

It was an article of faith in the British Constitution that the King could do no wrong, and another of its articles was, that kings were immortal—that the king could not die ; but as a matter of fact, kings of course did die, and also often did wrong. Those were instances of the use of expressions which could not, in themselves be said to be accurate. With regard to the Virgin Mary being the mother of God, it was the accepted doctrine of the Church that Jesus Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity, came into the world and took possession of the man called Jesus of Nazareth ; but the difficulty was, that it was heresy to say that there were two persons present in Jesus Christ. How did the authorities of the Church meet that difficulty ? They said first that we should all admit that the person born of the Virgin Mary was God, that he had two natures but only one person ; that that person was divine ; that that person was God who had taken his human nature from the Virgin Mary, and in that sense they could say that the Virgin Mary was the mother of God. She was not the mother of the Divine Nature, for that Divine Nature created her ; but she was the mother of the other Human Nature which took its birth from her. He would also take the opportunity of saying, that it was a mistake to suppose that the Church had passed sentence of final condemnation upon any individual heretic whatever, who ever lived. He held that the Church taught that a man was not committed to believe that any single heretic had perished everlastingly, as was supposed to be declared by the words of the Athanasian Creed, the condemnation applied to classes. For instance, they might say, as St. Paul had said, “that no liar or drunkard should inherit the kingdom of God ;” but those things were not intended to be said of particular individuals, but of classes of sinners and heretics who infringed the laws of God.

ON THEOLOGICAL TEACHING IN A UNIVERSITY.

By His Eminence CARDINAL MANNING.

1. The teaching of a University cannot be complete unless it contains the whole circle of science, both sacred and secular. Within this circle will be contained the three great distinctions of theology, philosophy, and of physical knowledge, which in these latter ages has taken to itself almost exclusively the name of science.

2. By theology is here to be understood all that relates to God and to revelation, both in the natural and supernatural order.

By philosophy is to be understood all that relates to the intellectual and moral nature and powers of man.

By physical science is to be understood all that relates to the world, its laws, and phenomena.

3. The theological teaching of a University must include not only theology as defined above, but also philosophy, because the nature and constitution of man involve the whole theory of morals, which cannot be separated from theology.

4. A well-known writer on University studies has hazarded a theory that no University can admit of any body of doctrines which are assumed to be true antecedent to demonstration. If this theory were true it would not only exclude all theology, but also revelation, and all science, which necessarily presupposes axioms and certainties. There are also supreme truths which for their proof are ultimately resolved into the certainty of faith, as for instance the three chief doctrines of the baptismal creed.

5. Starting from this point no theological faculty would be complete which does not first enunciate the whole meaning, explicit and implicit, of the baptismal faith; and secondly, the critical and correct interpretation of Holy Scripture; and thirdly, a precise and scientific terminology and logical expression of divine truth.

6. The theological faculty of a University requires the following distinct chairs :—

(a.) First, of Philosophy, for the reason given above, the subject-matter of philosophy comprising all truth that is known by the light of nature, relating to God and man, to the divine perfections, and to our moral nature, and to the moral laws which govern the relations of man to God, and of man to man. This body of truth is often called natural religion, and natural morality, and is inseparable from theology, as the preamble to supernatural truth. In common, but inexact parlance, the subject-matter of philosophy is called by various but inadequate names, such as mental science, moral philosophy, metaphysics, and the like.

A course of Philosophy of one or two, or even three years is required of students before they enter into Theology.

(b.) The second chair is that of Dogmatic or Doctrinal Theology, which requires a knowledge of Holy Scripture in the original languages, a knowledge of the writings of Christian antiquity, and of the scientific terminology and method in which the doctrines of Christianity have been defined and taught in the successive periods of the Christian faith.

(c.) The third chair is that of Moral Theology including Natural Ethics.

(d.) The fourth chair is of the Sacred Languages, Hebrew and Greek, with the Oriental languages necessary for a critical knowledge of them.

(e.) The fifth chair is that of Holy Scripture.

(f.) The sixth, that of Ecclesiastical History.

(g.) The seventh, that of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence or Canon Law.

7. In this simple enumeration are contained the chief heads of theological study, of which some parts may be taught by a single professor, and others distributed to at least two.

8. It must always be remembered that the studies of Ecclesiastics are carried on in ecclesiastical colleges or diocesan seminaries, and that the theological chairs in

universities are intended, not so much for the training of Ecclesiastics as for the elaboration of the science of theology, including philosophy, which is inseparable from it, both as a preamble to supernatural truth, and as the source of the precise scientific terminology in which all theological definitions and teaching are expressed.

P.S. In order to show the course of theological studies required of an ecclesiastic in Rome before taking the degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor in Theology, the following paper is appended :

The ordinary course is four years.

In the first year, the student attends eight lectures per week of dogmatic theology, five lectures of moral theology, as well as lectures on the Hebrew language and ecclesiastical history. He has also to assist at, and in his turn, take part in theological disputations.

In the second year, the student attends the same number of lectures, but instead of Hebrew he attends the lectures on canon law. At the end of the second year the student may obtain the degree of bachelor, for which he must write a *thesis*, and pass a *vivâ voce* examination of at least half an hour.

In the third year, the student attends the same number of lectures in dogmatic and moral theology, and lectures in Holy Scripture and canon law. At the end of the third year, the degree of licentiate (or leave to teach) can be obtained, after an examination consisting of the writing a *thesis*, and *vivâ voce* disputation.

In the fourth year the student attends dogmatic (not moral) theology, and Holy Scripture, and canon law.

For the degree of doctor, the candidate must write a thesis upon any subject *ex universâ theologiâ*, and pass in a *vivâ voce* examination to the satisfaction of at least three professors.

Usually only those are admitted to the degrees of licentiate and doctor, who have shown proficiency in the theological disputations of the schools.

Lord REAY read the following letter from Professor Flint, of Edinburgh, on—

THEOLOGICAL TEACHING IN A UNIVERSITY.

By the Rev. Professor FLINT, D.D.,
University of Edinburgh.

IF I had been able to comply with the request of the Committee to read a paper on Theological Teaching in a University, there are various points on which I should have been glad to have had so splendid an opportunity as the Conference will present for insisting a little.

One of these points is the importance of the languages most necessary to a theologian being acquired at the proper stage in his University education. Septuagint and New Testament Greek should be studied in connection with, and immediately after, Classical Greek; and the Semitic languages should be taught in the Arts' Faculties of Universities, and those of them indispensable to theologians should be acquired by intending theologians before entering on their strictly theological course. It is unreasonable to be studying the very rudiments of Hebrew and the very highest questions of Old Testament Criticism at the same time. No country can have any considerable number of theologians thoroughly versed in the sacred languages and literature unless students who have special aptitudes for philological and linguistic studies can pass into the Divinity Halls through an Arts' course which is inclusive of the languages that, as theologians, they will find most useful.

A second point is that what is called the Philosophy of Religion, or Science of Religions, or Comparative Theology, should be studied and taught as a department of philosophy, and that intending theologians should have an opportunity of studying it in passing through a course of philosophy. It is of essential importance to a theologian, but also of very great importance to the student of philo-

sophy, of morals, of history, of civilisation. As regards at least the whole Oriental world, for instance, the history of religion and the history of philosophy are inseparable and even largely identical. No Government in the world is under as great obligation to recognise the claims of this science as our own, which has under its sway millions of Brahmanists and Buddhists, and a multitude of heathen peoples, and no European Government is showing itself less alive to its claims. All intelligent study of Christian theology must have constant reference to its results.

Passing to the professional studies of the theologian—those which should be prosecuted in Divinity Schools—the departments to which most attention should be paid at first are those which relate to the literature, criticism, and interpretation of the Old Testament and the New Testament. These supply the groundwork, and it is better to have an adequate solid groundwork with little or no superstructure than showy superstructure with little or no solid groundwork.

The study next in order is Biblical Theology, the ultimate direct result and the most comprehensive and perfect product of Biblical Exegesis. It is an entirely different thing from what is called Systematic Theology, although it supplies a large part of its basis. It is a purely historical study, not assuming even that the Bible is either a source or a standard of truth, but aiming merely at tracing accurately the development of the religious ideas and doctrines contained in the Bible from the beginning to the close of the Biblical section of history. It is an utter inversion of the true method of theological study to enter on Dogmatic Theology otherwise than through Biblical Theology.

There should follow the study of the History of the Church and of the History of Doctrines.

The foregoing critical and historical disciplines are naturally prior to theological science strictly so called, and the latter can only be successfully studied by those who have mastered the former. The study of its chief department—Christian Dogmatics—cannot be efficiently pro-

secuted in any theological institution in Britain known to me, because the necessary preliminary studies are untaught. It presupposes the interpretation of nature and Scripture, presupposes Natural Theology, Biblical Theology, the History of Doctrine, and all the methods and disciplines which these imply. The old conception of it as a series of theses proved by an appeal simply to texts of Scripture is utterly antiquated. There is no such theological science as that. In the present day, a Professor of Christian Dogmatics, who has any true appreciation of the nature of his science, will find it impossible to treat of any Christian doctrine without feeling compelled to give his students an account of the analogous doctrines in the chief heathen religions, because they have not been taught Comparative Theology, a history of the Biblical development of the doctrine, because they have not been taught Biblical Theology, and a history of the doctrine in Christendom, because they have not been taught the History of Doctrines, and all this he must do before he can even begin dogmatic teaching proper, because until it is done dogmatic teaching is worthless. The consequences are, of course, deplorable. In my eyes they are so deplorable that, although I have no particle of sympathy with those who despise or depreciate Systematic or Dogmatic Theology, I have also no hesitation in affirming that, were due provision made in Universities for the teaching of Comparative Theology, Biblical Theology, and the History of Doctrine, the gain to the cause of theological education would be great, even should there cease to be any recognition of strictly Dogmatic or Systematic Theology.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Bryce) said that the papers had wandered, perhaps necessarily by way of illustration, over a very wide field, so as to include not only all theology, but almost all knowledge, certainly all Christian history ;

still, after all, the subject which they were to consider, was that of theological teaching in universities, and he would therefore ask the speakers to confine themselves to the question of how theological teaching should be practically carried out in Universities, what its contents and bearings should be, and what form it should take.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN very much regretted, as he had already stated, that Prussia was not officially represented at the Congress. Being acquainted with university life in Germany, and especially with the work done at the University of Berlin, he begged to be allowed to draw the attention of the meeting to the manner in which theological studies were carried on at the latter University. The Berlin University contained—like all the other German Universities, with one exception—four “Faculties.” Before any student was allowed to enter the university, he must have been at a “Gymnasium,” at which the teaching of Latin and Greek was one of the most important items. Having been there for several years, he had to pass an examination before he entered the university. Being now a student at the University, he would select the faculty to which he would devote himself. The theological student would have in view either to become a clergyman or a university professor (or both). Besides embracing theological studies, the student would have to occupy himself with disciplines of a more general character, viz., philosophy, logic, moral and mental philosophy, and others. After the lapse of at least three years, the student would proceed to pass his professional examinations. The programme of the University of Berlin contained under the head of theology (*Gottesgelahrtheit*) altogether about 43 subjects, some of these occurring twice or three times, *i.e.*, taught by several professors. These subjects were taught under the same roof, but independent of every other “faculty” in the University. “Religionsphilosophie und Kirchenrecht”—being some of the subjects—belong however also respectively to the Philosophical and Law faculties. To indicate the character of the teaching,

it would suffice to refer to the names of some of the professors who lectured there, names, he had no doubt, well known to the eminent audience he had the honour of addressing, viz., Professors Dillmann, Strack, Kleinert, Weiss, Pfeiderer, Semisch, Piper, etc., etc. The few observations which he had been making would show how far the aspirations and wishes expressed at the meeting, concerning a theological faculty in London, were already realised in Germany.

Professor CROMBIE stated as an apology for intruding again on the attention of the meeting, that he had been for sixteen years a teacher of theology in the University of St. Andrews, and his attention had therefore been specially directed to the subject on which the papers had been written. He would like to say one word in reference to Dr. Heine-mann's statement. He had pointed out with great truth the advantage which German students in theology enjoyed in being obliged to go through a very rigid preparatory training before entering on a scientific study of theology ; but in Scotland he might venture to say they claimed a pre-eminence in this respect. They required in all the Presbyterian churches entrance examinations to be passed, and in particular in the Church of Scotland, every student of theology was required to pass through the full curriculum in the faculty of arts before being permitted to enter on the study of Divinity. That full curriculum occupied three years, or possibly four years of study in the Latin and Greek languages and literature, logic, rhetoric, English literature, moral philosophy and natural philosophy. A large number of those who proposed to study for the church took the Master of Arts degree, which at present implied a certain knowledge of those subjects, and that Master of Arts degree was a passport for the student before he entered the Divinity Hall in this respect that he was not required to pass a preliminary examination of fitness for entering it. He was rejoiced to say that thus during the last ten years the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church, which were the three great

religious bodies of Scotland, were not satisfied with the mere fact that a student had passed through faculties of arts before entering the Hall, but had appointed a special examining body to test his fitness, so that there was a double examination. Moreover, when the student entered on the study of theology he was expected to proceed in a systematic manner. There was a chair of Hebrew, which the student must attend for two years, and he was required even to have a preliminary knowledge of Hebrew before entering that class. A purpose of part of the preliminary examination by the committees of the synods of the church was to ascertain the student's familiarity with the elements of Hebrew. He admired the German system exceedingly, in which Hebrew was made part of the regular gymnasium work for those who intended to make the church their profession. For two years the German student who meant to be a student of theology had to study Hebrew in that systematic manner in which every branch of instruction in the German gymnasia was carried out, and everyone who had seen the papers of the *examen*, would see at once that the examination in Hebrew was neither shallow nor narrow. What he desiderated in connection with that subject was not merely that the study of Hebrew should be simply transferred to the Arts faculty, but that it should be made a branch of teaching in our secondary schools for all who intended to make the church their profession. They should come to the Hebrew chair in the theological department quite able to follow lectures on the exegetical theology of the Old Testament. A glimmering of the truth had begun to dawn in the minds of some of our legislators in these matters with regard to placing Hebrew in the curriculum of the faculty of arts, but that was only the beginning of what was necessary to be done in the preparation for theological teaching, and he hoped that our legislators would soon see the matter in a broader light than they did at present. With regard to the learned Canon Wace's paper, he had only one fault to find with it, and that was that it was much too short, as any paper upon the

subject coming from him must be most valuable. With its tone he most heartily sympathised, especially when the Canon said that theological study should not be divorced from university studies. He took his stand upon that, and no doubt that was a question to which considerable weight was attached in Scotland at the present time, and it would soon be so in England also. No man could say he had been properly educated, who had not had the opportunity of making himself acquainted with theological study in the broadest sense of the word—not the theology of creeds, not the theology of articles or of confessions, but theology in its broadest sense. Those documents were all useful as historic records of the past, and were necessary at the time they were framed in order to give embodiment to theological truths which until they were set out in that way were apt to float about somewhat confusedly. But he denied that they were to rule the church for all future time. He denied the right of any body of men living in past centuries to fix religious truths for all time; to say for instance that the Westminster Confession of faith was to override the truth of the dogmas which were taught in the Bible, or to prescribe that their rules and opinions as formulated by them should be the rules for all coming generations. Who inspired the framers of the great creeds? They all contained truth unquestionably, and scriptural truth, but he admired the sentiment expressed by the Canon when he said that theology must be interpreted by the living sympathies of the age. Did any man believe that if the Westminster Confession were to be framed again at the end of the nineteenth century it would contain the truth in the same form, and propose it with the same dogmatic authority: no one believed that it would. He was quite prepared to adopt, if necessary, the broad and Catholic view of the learned Canon McColl, when he said he was prepared to accept the Apostles' Creed as the basis of all theology. He knew that his views were not those of the majority in Scotland. One point, however, had not been touched upon, and that was the absolute necessity not

merely of teaching the language of the Old Testament, but the later Greek and the language of the Septuagint. He read the Septuagint to his own students, and it was more important he thought to theological students and teachers to be well acquainted with the Septuagint than with the Hebrew. This subject was so vast and so wide that he felt he could go on speaking much longer than their patience would endure, but he would at all events thank the learned gentlemen for their papers, which contained so much that was interesting, and he hoped that they would obtain a very wide circulation. Coming up from that remote part of the country where students lived more in converse with the German theologians, than some did perhaps who were present at the meeting, it would be found that they took a broader view of these matters. They had no deaneries or canonries in Scotland, and no leisure for publishing such great theological works as had come from the pen of the distinguished canon from whose hand he believed was coming a great work on Christian evidences, and from whose pen had come many articles in the biblical dictionaries. That was one reason why his country was not much known in the field of learning. They had a Greek scholar, however, whose name, although not much known here, was well known and recognised in Germany, the Rev. William Veitch, whose name was quoted as an authority by the scholars of that learned land. They had already had from the pen of Dr. Flint, in the department of apologetics, two great works which embodied the labour of a lifetime, and with him he would name Principal Tulloch, whose writings were not only known in this country, but upon the continent and in America, where they were read at Cambridge and at Harvard, with as much interest, and probably to a greater extent than at many universities nearer home.

The Rev. Dr. HUNT said that he had come expressly to hear Cardinal Manning, but the Cardinal had disappointed him. With Mr. McColl's paper he pretty well disagreed from beginning to end. He was quite wrong in what he said

about the Arians being the first to introduce non-Scriptural definitions. The Arians, and more especially the semi-Arians, contended for the use of nothing but Scriptural language. The first innovation was made by the Homousians who introduced the non-Scriptural term ὁμοούσιος. Mr. McColl had missed the meaning of Pope's words about "modes of faith." It was not logically correct to say that a man's faith is right because his life is right; but Pope meant that the life was more important than the creed. A man might be a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, and be either a good or a bad man, but in either case the good man was preferred. The illustration from Mahomet and Mahometanism was equally at fault. It was an old belief that Mahomet was purely a child of the devil and his religion entirely evil, but more recent investigations had shown that there was in Mahomet much to be admired, and that in many things, as sobriety and devotion, his followers excelled many Christians. Mr. McColl had defined dogmas as what had been revealed and accepted by the whole Church. It was difficult to say what was meant by the whole Church, or in what sense there was a whole or Catholic Church. If it were a visible unity, then this Church was certainly not the Anglican, nor could any Anglican belong to it. He agreed with Mr. McColl that the Apostles' Creed contained all the articles of the Christian faith, from which he inferred that it would be better to dispense with the other creeds. The decisions of councils must be held to be of very little value by all those who knew their history, and how the different parties intrigued and schemed to defeat each other. The defence of the expression *Theotokos*, or Mother of God, rather surprised him. Mary was the mother of Christ's humanity, but not of his divinity. As the Logos, or eternal Son of God, He was before all worlds, and so before the Virgin Mary. The Athanasian Creed Dr. Hunt never read, nor allowed to be read in his Church. He could not say of every man who did not think of the Trinity according to these abstruse definitions that without doubt he should everlastingly perish. Mr.

McColl's defence of the damnatory clauses was very amusing. They condemned nobody in particular, and yet they condemned every one who did not thus think of the Trinity. This was, said Dr. Hunt, very ingenious, very subtle, and very trifling.

The Rev. Dr. DAWES would confine his observations as nearly as possible to the subject-matter, in compliance with the Chairman's request. He was very much pleased and delighted with Canon Wace's paper, which was so clear in its ideas with regard to the study of theology at universities. There was no doubt that the study of Theology should be open at our universities, and anything that would contract it into seminaries would tend in all cases, and had always done so, to narrow the great views of theology and bring them down to a system without vitality. Another remark had been made bearing upon the question of the study of theology at our universities. If he had understood Mr. McColl correctly, he had expressed a wish that the professors of theology in universities should belong to some Christian body; but he believed it would be much better that there should be no test of any kind, because if religion were of any power it would be sufficiently powerful to extend its influence over the students without any definite profession of faith on the part of the professors. They might learn from their professors, though not belonging to any particular creed or church, many things which they should know, and he would put no kind of demand or prescription upon the professors in our universities, but admit them on their own sterling qualities and capacity for teaching that which they proposed to teach. Dr. Heinemann had handed him a paper in connection with the Berlin University. In that university there were men teaching theology who were not in orders, and he thought it was an important thing that theological study and teaching should not be always confined to men who were in orders, that was to say, that it should not be confined to men who were compelled to sign certain articles or subscribe to a certain creed. That might be new to some of them, but

he himself thought that for the proper teaching of any subject, theological or otherwise, a man must not be bound with reference to the system upon which he was to work, because he must be then labouring within a circle, and could not put his foot outside it. Therefore he would suggest that it would be a very great advantage for our universities that all the professors should not necessarily be men in orders. That was the principal thing he wished to call to the attention of the meeting. As regarded dogmatic theology, they had a paper from Cardinal Manning which was very nicely put, but it was not exactly upon the subject, because the question was how theology was to be taught, and if a man was to be bound by anything, it would be impossible for him to feel he was free to soar where he pleased. There was one thing, however, in Cardinal Manning's paper which he noticed, and that was, that there was very little mention of history; but history and historical researches seemed to him to be the great bases for theological teaching. The principal thing he wished to bring before the meeting was the question of the appointment of lay professors and also the freedom of professors in their teaching. They wanted also much with regard to the development of theology, but no doubt others could speak much better upon the question than himself.

Lord REAY had followed with extreme interest the discussion during the morning. The subject had been fully done justice to by all the papers which had been read. But the discussion would not be complete if some allusion were not made to another side of the picture, to which as a layman he must refer. It was quite clear that the duty of the clergy was not to become great theologians, but that the vast majority of the clergy had practical duties to perform. He had said yesterday in his opening speech, that he looked upon the future of rural life in England as a very great problem. In the rural life of England, and of Scotland especially, there were two great educational influences; one was the teacher in the primary school, and the other the clergy. Then arose a very important question: How was

it that after centuries of teaching by the clergy in rural districts, they found (and he might add that both the Chairman and himself were on the side of the extension of the franchise in the counties) that they had to meet this argument, that the rural community in England was in such a backward state? The only key or answer that he had ever found to that question, was that the clergy in England had not sufficiently roused the faculties of the rural population. Of course it was not so in all cases. It did not apply to Scotland. He attributed this mainly to the fact that the clergy of the Church of Scotland had had a thorough university training, and from the kind of teaching they had themselves received in universities had learnt to go in heartily for the higher education of the lower classes of the community. He considered that in all education of the clergy (not speaking of any sect in particular, but of all sects) in the present day they should be trained to promote the extension of university teaching among their parishioners. There was no task of higher importance in these democratic days ; there was no way in which the clergy of any church could make themselves more or less the best friends of the most wise conservatism than by trying to promote in their various parishes the extension of knowledge among all classes of the community. He thought these few remarks would at all events show that he looked upon the duties of the clergy as being more important than ever, and that he did not share the views of those who thought that the clergyman was a historical figure.

The Rev. Canon MCCOLL wished to make an explanation in regard to a remark which had been made by Dr. Hunt, in which he stated that the Virgin Mary was held to be the mother of our God, in the sense of our Lord's Divine Nature. But what he had said distinctly was, that it would be rank heresy to say so, and lest anybody should misunderstand what he had really stated, he would repeat it. The doctrine upon that point, which was not his own merely, but was that propounded by no less authorities than Dr. Hooker and Dr. Dörner the great German theologian, was,

that we are justified in predicating of the person of Christ in the abstract, the properties which belonged in the concrete to either of His natures. It would be blasphemy to say that the Godhead died, but it was justifiable to say that God died because He bought the Church with His blood. If that were denied, the denier would be landed in this difficulty, that he must affirm that the child born of Mary was not God, and therefore the doctrine simply affirmed that our God had one person including two natures within Him.

The Rev. T. MORSE, of the London School Board, would venture to say that Lord Reay's remarks as to the condition of education among the lower classes of England were scarcely accurate. In former years he had been a diocesan inspector of schools in rural districts, and he then had great familiarity with this question. Speaking generally, the education in the elementary school of a large country village was quite equal to the education which was given in an ordinary town school. It might be said there was not the same play of intellectual life in the country as there was in the town, and that consequently the town children were sharper than those living in country districts ; but speaking of the attainments of the scholars, those who were acquainted with the matter would say there was very little difference. As to the remarks that had been made by Lord Reay, with regard to the part taken by the clergy in the education of the country, he had apparently somewhat overlooked the fact that in the present century almost the first movement in elementary education was due to the work of the clergy, and that for a quarter of a century at least, the elementary education of the poor, especially in country districts, had been carried on at great personal sacrifice on the part of the clergy. It was well known that although modern legislation had carried the standard of elementary education very much further, yet in its beginning the work was due to the enlightened feelings which the clergy entertained as to the needs of their parishioners, and those who had not taken part in that work could scarcely realise the enormous difficulty there was in the early days, in getting people in

country parishes to take any interest in the matter. He was only anxious, therefore, for the credit of his order, that the remarks of Lord REAY should not pass from this meeting without some explanation.

LORD REAY had not intended to allude to the work done by the clergy with reference to primary education. With elementary education, less entirely in their hands than formerly, and taken up by the Government, their task would be a different one in the future, viz., to develop in rural parishes the results of primary education. He felt sure the clergy would be as willing to undertake new duties as they had been zealous in the performance of the duties to which the last speaker had referred. He was in fact only suggesting to them, that they should go on a little further in the path which they had struck out before.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Bryce) in expressing thanks to the gentlemen who had favoured the meeting with papers, would not give any opinions of his own upon the different questions which had been raised, but would confine himself to endeavouring to indicate, as far as he could, what were the substantial issues and points which had emanated from both the papers and the discussion. The observations had been carried over an exceedingly wide field, and the meeting had been introduced to the gravest questions of theology. The first question, in fact, was a question as to the very existence of natural theology. The discussion had been carried back to the councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, but it was satisfactory to observe that those fine questions of metaphysical theology, for which so much blood had been shed in the world, had been discussed with greater calmness at that meeting than had marked their discussion in the Council of Ephesus. There were six main issues which had emerged from that discussion, and the first was this, Was theology a proper study for the university at all? Upon that point they should distinguish between two things, natural theology and Christian theology, because the points relating to the two were very different. The question with regard to natural theology was, did it exist at all? Could the human

mind, either from an observation of itself, or from inferences drawn from nature, deduce the existence of an intelligent creator of the universe? A professor of natural theology would be chiefly occupied in proving that his subject existed. But as regarded Christian theology, whatever opinion was entertained as to the truth of any particular parts of it, or as to the truth of Christianity at all, no one could doubt the historical importance of a topic which had employed and influenced so many of the greatest minds for seventeen or eighteen centuries. Therefore, as regarded the teaching of Christian and natural theology in universities, the questions were entirely different, and led to different fields of inquiry altogether. Then the second question was, if theology was a proper study for the university, how far was it a study for theologians or clergymen only, or for laymen besides, and how far ought the studies to be so framed as to induce laymen as well as persons preparing themselves for clerical duties to take a part at least of the theological training. That was a very important point, which had been hinted at in some of the remarks made. Thirdly, if there were to be theological studies in universities for both laymen and clergymen, what should those studies include? The most systematic treatment of that question he thought had been given in the very concise and valuable paper by Cardinal Manning, which contained several important suggestions, put very shortly, but sufficiently to raise the point for their consideration. Fourthly, did the subjects of Oriental languages and ecclesiastical history more properly belong to the theological faculty, or to a general course of history. The recently founded chair of ecclesiastical history in the University of Cambridge was not, in fact, confined to clergymen or associated with the faculty of theology, but was open to laymen. With regard to the canon law, mentioned as a branch of theological instruction in the paper of Cardinal Manning, that was a subject of greater importance in the Catholic than in the Protestant Church. He was disposed to think that, so far as it related to the arrangements of Protestant churches, it might more

properly be attached to the legal than to the theological faculty, and no doubt it ought to receive some recognition from the universities. It would include such topics as the relation of the State to ecclesiastical regulations; how ecclesiastical courts were to be constituted; how far ought the State to recognise the findings of ecclesiastical courts, and to enforce them; and how far the general doctrines of the law of contract might properly be applied as between clergymen and their congregations on the one hand, and the religious bodies to which they belonged on the other hand. With regard to the question of the training to be gone through before entering upon the university theological teaching, it was important to see what the course was that students had to pass through elsewhere, either in a gymnasium to which Dr. Heinemann had alluded, or in a preparatory school. In the University of Oxford a student could not enter the theological school until he had passed the second examination, that which was called moderations. Then came a very large question indeed, and that was, whether the giving of theological instruction ought to be confined to persons who had taken some theological test, or whether it ought to be opened to laymen and persons who had taken no test at all—whether the theological faculties ought to be part of the general university system, and partake of the general freedom, or whether they ought to be in connection with a particular body or denomination. That was a question of very great practical importance in England and Scotland, and it was a question which was still unsolved in both countries, and one over which there would doubtless be contests for years to come, because it was not to be supposed that the universities would be left to work out the matter for themselves. Even in Oxford he doubted very much whether the chairs of ecclesiastical history and Hebrew would continue to be much longer confined to members of the Established Church. That was a question on which it was very desirable that they should arrive at opinions grounded on

principle. In Germany it was by no means the general rule that teachers of theology should be clergymen, nor was it universal in the United States. Though no doubt the professors would be usually clergymen, because clergymen were more likely to study the subjects, there might be sometimes lay candidates of equal or superior competence, especially in Oriental languages and ecclesiastical history. In the latter subject a layman would perhaps find himself more free from bias than a clergyman of any particular church was likely to be. Then, lastly, there was a very important question indeed which had not been adverted to in any of the Papers, but had been raised at the close of the discussion in the course of Lord Reay's remarks, and that was the question what should be the education of the ordinary clergy. Those gentlemen who had presented their views of general theological instruction had spoken naturally of the accomplished theologian, but they had besides to think of the parish priest, who had to go down to the poorer districts in our great towns or in the country, and there devote himself to doing Christ's work. It did not follow that the man who could do that work the best among the poor would be a man who was capable of taking a very fine metaphysical or historical polish, or of profiting by that long course of studies which had been presented to them in such glowing colours. Therefore they had to consider not only that comprehensive course proper for the scientific theologian, but also the studies best adapted to prepare for his rough daily work the ordinary working clergyman, the man who has zeal and earnestness, but who does not necessarily possess a turn for the higher theological culture. That was a question of great importance both in England and Scotland, and it derived additional importance from the educational problems with which it was associated, particularly in the rural districts in England. He understood Mr. Morse to protest against its being supposed that there had been any indifference to elementary education on the part of the clergymen of the Church of England. When visiting the endowed schools of the north and west some seventeen

years ago, he had found that the only people who seemed to have cared about education in the rural districts were the clergymen of the Church of England. Those were the days when men wrangled over the Conscience clause, but he had found many a clergyman who denounced such an arrangement in public, practically so anxious to let all the children have the benefit of the parish school that he never dreamt of forcing the catechism on the children of nonconformist parents. On the other hand, he had understood Lord Reay to say that the clergymen of the Church of England had not been zealous, or devoted so large a part of their attention as could have been wished to raising the level of the education for the middle class. That fact was due not so much to disregard of the middle class as to the circumstance that they had occupied themselves chiefly with the elementary schools. With regard to what had been said by Lord Reay, as to the enormous influence of the teachers and clergy in Scotland being due to the fact that the teachers had been, to a large extent, university men, no doubt that had had the best possible effect in the rural districts; and if it were true, as it certainly was, that in the poorest districts the Scottish population were more fitted to perform their electoral duties than the corresponding class in England, no doubt that was due to the fact that their clergy were more democratic, and also to the fact that the teachers had the stamp of a university education, and had acquired that elevation of spirit which only a university education could give them. He hoped he was expressing the universal feeling of the meeting in tendering their warmest thanks to the gentlemen whose Papers had been read, and he believed they would all go away with their minds much stimulated on these subjects, more sensible of their importance, and having had new points of view suggested to them.

The Section adjourned until 2 P.M.

On resuming, the chair was again occupied by Mr. BRYCE, M.P.

LEGAL EDUCATION IN A UNIVERSITY, AND THE PROPER RELATION OF THE FACULTY OF LAWS TO THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

By T. E. HOLLAND, D.C.L.,

Barrister-at-Law, Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford.

I CONFESS to having been somewhat surprised when I was honoured by a request to read at the Health Exhibition a paper upon the subject of Legal Education.

But I remembered to have heard that, in the opinion of a late very eminent judge, the first, second, and third requisites for success at the bar are animal spirits. If there be any truth in this opinion, it is obvious that a lawyer should enter upon his profession, well equipped indeed with all needful knowledge, but bearing the burden of that knowledge lightly ; with a mind as little as may be fatigued with the toil of preparing for examinations, and after a course of study which has been cheerfully undergone, because none of the labour which it involved has been misdirected. I propose, therefore, to enquire, very briefly :

I. What are the essentials of a sound training in the theory of law ?

II. How can these be so secured to the student as to produce the best results with the least waste of time and effort ?

My sole claim to discuss these questions is that—having pursued my own legal studies upon the old plan of leaping ignorantly into the chambers of a conveyancer, and thence, with an ignorance tempered only by some acquaintance with mortgages and settlements, into the chambers of a special pleader,—I have subsequently, as examiner in the University of London and at the Inns of Court, as well as at Oxford, seen something of the results of a more rational system.

Our enquiry will lead us over the smouldering ashes of

many controversies, from which we must keep clear as best we may. I hope to avoid any reference to such topics as the proper relations of the two branches of the profession; the policy of the defunct "Legal Education Association;" the utility to English lawyers of a knowledge of Roman law; the analogy between the training of medical men and of lawyers; the rights and responsibilities of the Inns of Court.

I. The essentials of a sound legal training appear to me to be:

- (1) That the student shall receive good oral guidance in acquiring the principles of law.
- (2) That his knowledge of these principles shall be, at an appropriate stage of his progress, tested, once for all, by examination.

(1) That law can be taught and studied systematically is self-evident, when one considers that it is a body of rules which are admittedly as capable of being grouped under genera and species as are diseases, animals, or plants. It is as little reasonable for a student of law to pay 100 guineas for the privilege of looking at the papers which pass through Counsels' chambers before he knows the difference between a contract and a tort, between substantive law and procedure, as it would be for a student of medicine to be led through the wards of a hospital without having acquired any previous knowledge of the difference between scarlet fever and consumption, between the heart and the liver.

Great lawyers have, no doubt, been formed upon this irrational plan, but only at the cost of great waste of labour. After dealing with some hundreds of questions arising in actual practice, the student became aware that there were what he called "classes of cases," which he grouped in a rough and ready way for his own needs. In after life he very probably perpetuated his rough and ready classification in a text-book.

The remedy for the old wasteful plan I believe to be

that which has been introduced into this country after having been long found indispensable in every other. I mean attendance on courses of lectures, before commencing work in chambers. It is hardly necessary to guard oneself against being supposed to think that attendance at lectures can ever take the place of seeing work in chambers. No one supposes that a surgeon can learn nerve and fineness of touch by hearing lectures on anatomy; nor does any reasonable being hold that all the qualities which go to make a great advocate, or are essential to a solicitor, who is to be the confidential adviser of a score of families, can be imparted by set discourses. But both the advocate and the solicitor require, amongst other qualifications, a knowledge of law; and this, like knowledge of any other kind, is best obtained by systematic study.

It may, of course, be maintained that knowledge may be systematically acquired from books. The old-fashioned student in chambers no doubt read text-books at spare moments. The books were bad, being the production of men whose own ideas had been formed upon the rough-and-ready method; and they were read casually, in the intervals of business. But even the systematic reading of good books by the individual student is far from offering the advantages which attendance on courses of lectures secures to a class. If we may venture to parody the words of an old poet, dealing with a higher theme, we should say:—

“Though private study be a brave design,
Yet public hath more promise :”——

A class of students, all engaged upon the same subject, and arriving, *pari passu*, at the same division of it, are naturally stimulated to discuss it among themselves; while their teacher is able to present the law in its most recent development, and ought to be able materially to shorten the labour which his pupils must otherwise undergo in selecting the information which they require from a multitude of books, good, bad, and indifferent.

(2) The student's knowledge should be once for all tested by examination.

An examination is necessary, not only by way of guarantee to the public that the barrister or solicitor possesses some knowledge of his profession, but also for the student's own guidance. It is most desirable that students of the same science and members of the same profession should enjoy a common stock of ideas, should stand, as it were, on the same mental platform. The knowledge of all should be carried far enough to give to individuals, whose tastes may thereto incline them, an opportunity for deepening and widening it for the public profit. Advanced study may no doubt be promoted by prize bonuses, but a general diffusion of elementary knowledge is fully as likely to produce the desired result. The examination should take place once for all upon the principle "*nemo debet bis vexari pro una et eadem causa.*"

II. We have next to inquire how the student of law may be taught and examined with the least waste of time and effort? And this brings us to the question more immediately proposed for discussion, the relation of the universities to the profession.

Here the practice of different countries is different. In France both the teaching and the examination of the advocate is carried out by the University. In Germany and in Italy, while the teaching is given by the University, the examination is conducted by the State. Our English institutions are peculiar. The admission of persons to practice as barristers or solicitors is entrusted by the State to the Inns of Court and to the Incorporated Law Society respectively. It is by these bodies that not only the social respectability and literary sufficiency of aspirants to the profession is to be measured, but also the adequacy of their professional knowledge, the point which alone concerns us to-day.

The Incorporated Law Society seems to have no discretion as to the mode in which the powers with which it

is entrusted must be exercised. Under the Act of 1877, every candidate for admission to the roll of solicitors, unless of five years' standing at the Bar, must pass the "intermediate," and in any case must pass the "final" examination of that Society.*

But the Inns of Court are masters of the situation. They may, if they choose, delegate the whole of their responsibility for the professional attainments of their students, by accepting as conclusive evidence upon the point the certificates of external bodies. They may, on the contrary, shut their eyes to anything that is done outside of their own precincts, or they may adopt an intermediate policy.

The first course was that taken by the old College of Advocates, which required from its candidates for admission only that they should have taken the degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford or Cambridge. The second was till recently adopted by the Inns of Court, which, when they began to require from candidates for a call to the Bar some symptoms of a knowledge of law, insisted that students must either have passed the examination of the Council of Legal Education, or must produce a certificate of attendance on two courses of lectures given under the authority of the Council, or of study for a year in the chambers of a barrister. The third course is that now followed by the Inns of Court, and is, I believe, the right one. The Council of Legal Education keeps in its own hands the right of fixing from time to time the minimum amount of professional knowledge to be required from candidates for the Bar. It provides lectures, and holds an examination for its students, but attendance at the lectures is not obligatory, and certain University certificates are accepted in lieu of portions of the examination.

I propose shortly to explain the policy of the Inns, and to enquire how far, having regard to the present condition of the Law Faculties of the Universities, it is capable of amendment. The enquiry is rendered more difficult by the

* 40 & 41 Vict. c. 25.

fact that the Inns and the Faculties are equally in a state of transition. At an epoch, of which I should like to speak as ancient history, in the Inns of Court and at the Universities alike, moots and disputations had degenerated into empty formalities, readerships and professorships into practical sinecures. Then came the revival : * an age of Royal Commissions, Parliamentary debates, and journalistic criticism. But we must confine our attention to things as they now are.

The Council of Legal Education, appointed and supplied with funds by the four Inns of Court, maintains five professors, by whom lectures are given upon jurisprudence, international law, the so-called private international law, Roman law (described, I know not why, as Roman civil law), constitutional law, and legal history, common law, equity, real and personal property. The attendance on these lectures is not compulsory.

The Council also provides an examination, to be passed previous to a call to the Bar, in Roman law, real and personal property, common law and equity. It provides scholarships and prizes for advanced students.

One may be tempted to criticise the nomenclature of the topics assigned to the professors and required in the examination ; one may be surprised that a single professorship (the duties and salary of which are at present divided between two lecturers) is supposed to deal with six topics, each so wide and so distinct from the rest as jurisprudence, international law, the conflict of laws, constitutional law, legal history, and Roman law. One may regret that no provision is made for the teaching of canon law ; and one may doubt whether the lectures might not be thrown

* It should always be remembered, to the honour of the solicitors, that the first steps in the right direction were taken by them. The Incorporated Law Society, which was founded in 1825 and incorporated in 1831, established in 1833 the lectures which it has ever since continued. In 1836 it instituted Examinations, the passing of which has become obligatory, at first by the authority of the Judges, and now by virtue of an Act of Parliament, upon all candidates for admission to the profession.

open, on payment of a fee, to persons not members of the Inns. But, on the whole, it must be confessed that the provision made by the Council of Legal Education, for the teaching and examination of students who have had no training in law at a University is fairly well conceived. The concession which it makes to University students is contained in Rule 45 of "The Consolidated Regulations of the Four Inns."

"The Council may accept a degree granted by any University within the British dominions, for which the qualifying examination was in Law;* and also the testamur of the public examiners for the degree of civil law at Oxford that the student has passed the necessary examination for the degree of bachelor of civil law, as an equivalent for the examination in any of the subjects mentioned in Rule 43, other than common law and equity; provided the Council is satisfied that the student, before he obtained his degree, or obtained such testamur, passed a sufficient examination in such subjects."

This provision appears to be in principle satisfactory. Before determining how far its details, and the manner in which it is administered, are capable of amendment, it will be necessary to glance at the legal training which is given by the Universities.

I will speak first of the University of which I know most.

The Oxford Faculty is now fairly manned. We have a Professor and a Reader of Roman law, a Professor and a Reader of English law, a Professor of International law, a Professor of Jurisprudence, and a Reader in Indian law. There are also a number of law lecturers who, though appointed by the colleges, co-operate with the University teachers. The professors and readers, with an equal number of representatives of the college lecturers, form "the Board of Faculty," which may also co-opt distinguished lawyers who are not members of the University. Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., has been thus co-opted.

* The concession made by Rule 45 till recently applied only to "degrees in law."

We have two examinations in law ; a junior and a more advanced.

The former is the Honour School of Jurisprudence, passing in which qualifies for the degree of B.A. The course of study for this lasts generally for two years. It comprises Roman law, jurisprudence, constitutional law, the English law of real property and contract, and (for a first or second class) international law.

A student who has passed this examination should not, I think, be again examined at the Inns of Court in Roman law, or in the English law of real property or contract.*

Our advanced examination is for the degree of B.C.L. Candidates for this must have already graduated in Arts, and have usually commenced their professional studies in London. The possessor of this degree (or of the testamur which qualifies for it) should not be required to pass any further examination at the Inns of Court. He must have shewn a good knowledge of jurisprudence, or of a foreign code, of Roman law, and of either public or private international law, a fair knowledge of English law generally, and a minute knowledge of two special departments of it, in selecting which he has considerable liberty of choice.

I should mention that our lecturers and examiners are, with rare exceptions, barristers ; and that pains are taken that every Board of Examiners should consist of men engaged in actual practice as well as of Oxford residents. Any suggestion made by the Inns of Court as to our lists of subjects would, I am sure, receive respectful attention ; and I cannot doubt (though I have no authority for saying

* Should certain suggestions now under informal discussion be adopted by the University, it might be possible for the Inns to give more weight to this examination. It is proposed that the law student should be relieved of the necessity of showing any knowledge of Greek after his first examination (Responsions), and that he should be allowed to take up the Latin text of his Roman law (together with a modern language and logic or history) at his intermediate examination (Moderations). It would then be possible to increase the range of the English law taken up at the final examination in the School of Jurisprudence.

so) that it would be quite possible to arrange that the Council of Legal Education should be represented on our Board of Faculty and Board for the Nomination of Examiners.

The Cambridge degree of LL.B. implies the passing of an examination which is really a part of the course in Arts, and qualifies for the degree of B.A., or of LL.B., at the option of the student. It is the analogue of the Oxford examination in the School of Jurisprudence; and the two examinations should, I suppose, receive the same amount of recognition.

The Cambridge analogue to the degree of B.C.L. is the degree of M.LL., but the examination for the latter is, I believe, not so serious as for the former.

The law degrees of Dublin and London, and those arranged for the new Victoria University, have all a real value;* but the degrees of the University of Durham, and of the new Royal University of Ireland, are at present too easily obtainable.

My friend Professor Lorimer will doubtless tell the Conference something about Scotch law degrees. Of the value of those granted in India and in the Colonies it is probably not easy to obtain reliable information.

I would venture to submit the following conclusions with reference to the relations of the Inns to the Faculties:

1. That the Inns of Court should continue to maintain a staff of professors, with better distribution of subjects, and greater security of tenure, than at present.
2. That attendance on the lectures of these professors should, as now, be optional to students, but that other persons should be allowed to attend them on suitable conditions.
3. That the Inns should continue to test by examination the legal attainments of their students, except as hereafter specified, before calling them to the Bar.
4. That such of the Universities as can afford to maintain

* The Honourable Society of the King's Inns at Dublin calls to the Bar on the certificates of many Universities.

an adequate teaching-staff in the faculty of law should provide courses of lectures on the subject, extending over two or three years, followed by examinations, and as the result of an advanced examination (implying a wider range of study than could be required from all candidates for admission to the profession) by a law degree.

5. That such Universities as are not in a position to provide for the adequate teaching of law should suspend the exercise of their power of granting law degrees.

6. That this rule should not apply to the University of London; to which alone, if to any English University, should also be confided the powers of an examining-board for granting law degrees outside of England.

7. That the Council of Legal Education should be represented upon, or in official communication with, the governing bodies of those law faculties to the teaching or examinations of which it grants any recognition.

8. That the Council should by this means inform itself of the adequacy of the examinations held by those faculties, and not (as now) by inspection of the papers actually set to any given student.

9. That the recognition accorded by the Council to University Examinations should be of two kinds: (*a*) partial, as indicating sufficient knowledge of particular subjects; (*b*) complete, as indicating fitness for a call to the Bar.

The relations of the Incorporated Law Society to the Universities are at least as important as those of the Inns of Court; and I much regret that it will be impossible to discuss them at the same length.

Under the Act of 1877, the Society conducts an "intermediate" examination in such elementary works as shall be from time to time set by the Committee (at present in Stephen's Commentaries, omitting books IV. and VI., and in the Conveyancing Acts, 1881, 1882, the Married Woman's Property Act, 1882, and the Settled Land Act, 1882). From this only barristers of five years' standing are exempt. The Society also conducts a "final" examination, from

which there is no exemption. The compulsory subjects of this examination are at present :

1. The principles of Law and Procedure in matters usually determined or administered in

(a) The Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice.

(b) The Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.

2. The Principles of the Law of Real and Personal Property, and the practice of Conveyancing.

I am not prepared to say, without looking more closely into the question, whether the passing of certain University examinations might not be taken as the fair equivalent to the passing of these examinations ; or whether, which may well be the case, it is desirable that a portion of the Society's examinations shall turn upon technicalities which would be out of place at a University. I do venture to say that the Incorporated Society should be allowed in the matter the same freedom of action which is enjoyed by the Inns of Court. It should obtain such a modification of the Act of 1877 as would enable it to enter into relations with the Universities, and to concede to their examinations such recognition as from time to time it might think proper.

Mons. LOUIS LIARD, Rector of the Academy at Caen, who addressed the meeting in French on the subject of the paper, advocated that students should not be simply trained to become ordinarily qualified practitioners ; but that they should receive a training and acquire a thorough knowledge of all branches of law : Roman, Civil, Commercial, Constitutional, and International.

Mr. TAYLOR, of the Philadelphia High School, in reference to the state of legal education in the United States, could speak more particularly of its condition in Louisiana, where the law was based on the Code Napoléon. There was no special study of the Roman law, and those who did not desire to study it relied upon the text-books, and went

to the Universities of Germany. The custom was, that the student simply entered his name and remained two years in connection with an office, and then passed an examination. Formerly it was not even necessary that he should pass any kind of examination ; but now that most of the State Court Judges required that persons should pass an elementary examination, and afterwards an examination before a committee appointed by the judges, most of the American law-students study at the law schools at the Universities of Harvard, New York, Albany, Philadelphia, and so on. Those law schools were well conducted, and were presided over by such men as Professor Story and Professor Greenleaf in the earlier days. It was a tendency in the present day for a great many of the law students to study in the law schools of the Universities, and many able lawyers delivered lectures in them. In America, they had all the imperfections which had been so much deplored in the meeting ; but they trusted that in the future they would be able to remove them.

The CHAIRMAN then read the following paper by Professor Lorimer, of Edinburgh :—

ON LEGAL EDUCATION IN A UNIVERSITY AND THE PROPER RELATIONS OF THE FACULTY OF LAWS TO THE PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS.

By Professor LORIMER.

THE function of legislation, of the making of laws, or, to speak more correctly, of determining the means by which the laws which God has made for the government of human society may be realised under existing conditions of time and

place, is the most important and the most difficult function which is imposed on the citizen of a self-governing state. It exacts the most varied endowments and acquirements, involves the highest responsibilities, and to its due performance the highest honours are attached. Such being its character, it would be incredible, if it were not notorious, that this is the only citizen function of any importance which is entrusted to amateurs. Some men are supposed to be born with the qualities required for its performance, and on them it is imposed without consulting their wishes ; but, as regards the rest, they are permitted to offer their services to their fellow-citizens, and their fellow-citizens are entitled to select them, without any guarantee for their capacity beyond the good opinion which they have of themselves, or which their constituents may have of them. In earlier times apprenticeship was imposed on every tradesman, either by the laws of the land or by the laws of the corporation to which he necessarily belonged ; and even now no one pretends to exercise the simplest handicraft without a special training. We drill our soldiers and our sailors, and we teach and examine those of them to whom any of the higher duties of their callings are to be entrusted. Clergymen of all denominations, medical men of all classes, and lawyers, in the sense of those who are to administer the law, are now, and always have been, trained with care. It is in the case of those who are to frame the laws to be administered alone, that we content ourselves with "mother-wit."

In pointing out this peculiarity in the position of our legislators, I wish at the outset to guard against the impression that it is my intention to criticise the manner in which they are chosen. In self-governing countries the suffrage, in some form, is inevitable, and the question as to the form it ought to take is a political question which does not belong to this place. But, in this Educational Conference, the question whether, by educational means, electors and elected may be better qualified for the functions which are imposed on them by the Constitution, or which they impose on each other, presents itself legitimately ; and regarding it

from an academical point of view, my object will be to inquire what contribution to its solution may be rendered by the Universities.

In all the greater Continental Universities a threefold function is imposed on the faculties of law. They are bound to cultivate and to teach jurisprudence, 1st, as a branch of the moral and social sciences ; 2nd, as the art of legislation ; and 3rd, as the art of jurisdiction. Under the first aspect law is dealt with in relation to its sources, philosophical and historical, and is presented without reference, except for purposes of illustration, to the concrete conditions under which it may fall to be realised. In the second the circumstances of time and place are taken into account, and the special form of its realisation under the conditions of the actual life of the state, are presented. In the third, the rules which have been prescribed by the legislature for its administration, whether these rules be consuetudinary or statutory, and whether they be codified or uncoded, are examined and explained. It is the last of these duties only that our faculties of law for the most part have hitherto attempted to perform. But the importance of the others is now beginning to be everywhere felt, and it is by the development of our faculties of law in these directions, and by thus communicating to them the character of schools of legislation, that the most important improvement in our academical system seems likely to be made within the next few years.

The study of jurisprudence in relation to its sources, whether it be prosecuted from the philosophical or the historical point of view, or, as I have always contended that it ought to be, from both, is so strictly an academical subject that even to indicate its outlines would lead us into deeper waters than we can venture upon here. It will be obvious, however, that it is the study which bridges over the gulf that so many of our countrymen fail to pass, between the abstract studies to which their youth is devoted and the practical pursuits in which they are called upon to engage the moment that they quit the university. Its object, so

to speak, is to utilize philology, history and philosophy, by placing before the legislator the ideal goal which he must strive to reach in the various relations which he will be called upon to define. In continental Universities it is usually presented in two aspects—that of a preliminary outline or encyclopedia, as it is called, of the whole subjects afterwards to be taught, and that of a profounder and more searching discussion of the relations in which these subjects stand to their sources and to each other, which is sometimes called the philosophy of law, and sometimes by its older name of natural law, but which will probably be most intelligible to us under the epithet of general jurisprudence. The name by which we call it is of no great importance, but the thing itself ought unquestionably to be taught in every legal faculty. If it can be taken up in the two aspects I have mentioned, as the initial and final stage of legal study, so much the better. If not, the two aspects may be presented in conjunction in a single course of lectures. The necessities of my position have compelled me to follow the latter practice, and I am not aware that much inconvenience has resulted from it. We must bear in mind, however, that it cannot be taught to persons of very immature mind, or who have not previously acquired some knowledge of logic and ethics, and, in all cases where it is possible, a degree in arts ought to precede the study of jurisprudence. This common foundation of general and legal culture being laid, the course of study ought, in my opinion, to be adapted to the career upon which the student proposes to enter, very considerable latitude in the choice of subjects being allowed him. It will be found that the students in a faculty of law divide themselves for the most part, roughly, into two classes:—1st, There are those who propose to practise the law either as barristers or solicitors. For members of the bar a more elaborate course of academical instruction in law will fall to be provided, and higher preliminary acquirements may be imposed upon them than would be reasonable in the case of those who are to devote themselves to the agent branch of the profession, whose public

instruction always has been and will probably continue to be, supplemented by apprenticeship. In the University of Edinburgh two degrees, intended to meet their respective requirements, have been instituted. The higher degree, that of LL.B., proceeding on a previous degree in arts in some recognised University, now admits to the bar without further examination, and if a corresponding privilege were granted by the other branch of the profession to the lower degree of B.L., in conjunction with a somewhat shorter apprenticeship than is at present imposed, the University would have nothing further to ask of the corporations. For professional students of both classes the municipal laws of Rome and of their own country must always be the leading subjects ; but when these are provided for, considerable freedom in the choice of other subjects, such as International Law, Constitutional Law, Political Economy, Medical Jurisprudence, etc., might be allowed. Too many ought certainly not to be imposed, and the character of the examinations ought not to be raised beyond the standard which cultivated youths of ordinary capacity and industry may be expected to reach. If this be attended to, it is a question for the corporations whether, in their own interest, they ought to keep open those back doors of admission by corporate, as opposed to academical examinations, which at present exist in all branches of the profession.

2nd, The second class into which students in a faculty of law divide themselves, may be held to embrace all those who do not intend to practise the law, but who study it for purposes either of personal and citizen culture, or with a view to such non-judicial appointments as it has been the custom to reserve for members of the bar. Hitherto it has consisted chiefly of young men of fortune, who regarded it as a preparation either for political and official life, or for the management of their estates and of the local business of the counties with which they were connected. But it is a class which appears to admit of almost indefinite increase, and which might be increased with great benefit not only to the Universities and to the

bar—to which most of them would, no doubt, continue to be called—but to the whole community. It is from this class of persons that our legislators, as a general rule, ought to come, though the rule is one which ought unquestionably to be confirmed by many exceptions in favour of those whose special gifts or services have commended them to public confidence. In the case of this class of students the option of courses of lectures ought probably to be extended even to the classes of municipal law, though it may be doubtful whether the study of one municipal system at least ought not to be imposed for every law degree. Probably the better course would be, that in conducting the classes, a distinction should be made between the general and technical teaching, and that in the classes of the Roman Civil Law, and of the Municipal Law of the country to which they belonged, the general portion only should be imposed on non-professional students. This, in conjunction with a course of General Jurisprudence, would lay a sufficient foundation of legal training for non-professional purposes, and when it was completed their more special studies would be directed to Constitutional Law, International Law, Political Economy, Political Ethnology and Geography, together with History, which ought to be presented to them mainly in its political, social, ecclesiastical, and economical aspects, as distinguished from a mere narration of past occurrences. Several of these classes would naturally belong to more than one faculty, and attendance on them would count for other than law degrees. Whether graduation in these subjects or in such of them as might be selected by the candidate or imposed by the profession, ought to admit to the bar and to the other legal corporations, is a question which the corporations, in the first instance, might possibly be disposed to answer in the negative. Ultimately, however, it would come to be seen that the interests of the practising members of these bodies could scarcely be prejudiced by the admission of this class of graduates, whilst their whole members would be benefited by the contributions which they would make to the funds,

and still more by the stronger ties by which the legal corporations, through them, would be bound to the political and official life of the state.

I must add a few words with reference to the teaching staff, by whom the duty of instructing what, in this country, would be to some extent a new class of law students, would fall to be discharged. Hitherto the professors of the Faculty of Law in the University of Edinburgh—with the exception of the Professor of Conveyancing, who, for special reasons, is always a Writer to the Signet—have been drawn exclusively from the Bar; and the same has been the case at the English Universities and in the Inns of Court. As a rule, I think this practice ought to be adhered to, because the academic staff merely represents the scientific side of the profession, and the more closely science and practice are bound together, the better for both. But were the scope of the legal faculty to be extended in the manner here suggested, the rule ought not to be adhered to with the same rigour as when its object was confined to the training of legal practitioners. Other things being equal, a diplomatist would probably make a better Professor of Public International Law than a lawyer, and there seems no reason why we should insist on our Professors of Political Economy or History being members of the Bar, even though these subjects were recognised as branches of legal instruction. The Professor of the Philosophy of Law, however, ought, in my opinion, wherever it is possible, to be a member of the profession, because, otherwise, that subject will drift away from practice altogether, and be regarded merely as a branch of the metaphysics of ethics. Had Kant and Hegel and Trendelenburg been bred to the law, their systems need not have been less profound, and would certainly have been more intelligible and practically important. It is, no doubt, difficult to find practical and theoretical gifts of a high order in combination, and still more difficult to induce their possessors to accept, or at any rate to retain, what must always be the modest, and, as regards externals, the unambitious position of a professor.

Your philosopher will not generally be a man who either has had, or could have had, an extensive practice. But there is a great difference between an extensive practice and no practice, and I should be disposed to insist, not only on his belonging nominally to the profession, but on his having at some period of his career really put his shoulder to the professional wheel. And this leads me in the last place to make one or two general remarks as to the class of men whom we must strive to secure as occupants of the chairs of a faculty of law. As we do not choose our students, we must bear in mind that, whatever the character of our professors may be, they will always have clever students to deal with. It is the clever students, moreover, who give its tone to a class ; and as law students are no longer boys, they are apt to be critical and exacting. Unless a professor succeeds in keeping their thoughts fully occupied, they will become impatient and troublesome in his hands. That a professor should have something to say on his subject, which youths of this description are not likely to find elsewhere, thus becomes a *sine quâ non*. On the other hand, it must be remembered that rare gifts are rare even amongst professors. Originality, depth, subtlety and eloquence do not fall to the share of everyone on whom the academical mantle descends. It is not everyone who can penetrate the recesses of nature, either moral or physical, and carry fresh treasures away. For professors of this class we must wait till God sends them. They are not to be bought with money, and the fame which we cannot withhold is the only worldly advantage for which they are likely to care. But good gifts, even of the kind we desiderate, are not rare. On the practising side of the profession—at the bar and on the bench—there are always many able and efficient men, keenly interested in learned and philosophical pursuits, who would gladly return to the Universities if anything like reasonable inducements were offered them. Men who are worthy to be the servants of science will, in general, be willing to offer very considerable sacrifices on her altar. But when science demands them

body and soul, and insists on coupling the fame which she promises only to her special favourites with what, comparatively at any rate, must be regarded as starvation, sensible men are apt to think science a little unreasonable. If we are to have in our chairs the best men whom each professional generation produces, we must strive to give them some equivalents for the emoluments and the honours which we call on them to forego. I urge this consideration, because I believe it to be of special importance for the efficient working of faculties of law. That is not a sphere of activity in which cheap labour can be counted on. By bringing the chairs into connection with the state departments to which they are related—the Chair of International Law, for example, with the Foreign Office, and the Chairs of Constitutional Law and Political Economy with the Home Office and the Board of Trade—and thus giving to their occupants the character of State officials in occasional employment, as is so often the case on the Continent, much might, no doubt, be done to add to their attractions. But we must make up our minds to accept the fact that, in the legal profession, the duties of a professor and of a successful practitioner are incompatible. In medicine it is different, and a medical chair in place of being an impediment is a passport to practice. But there never has been an instance of a lawyer who succeeded in both careers at the same time. Nor is it possible, in a faculty of law, to supplement an inadequately endowed and feeble professoriate by lectureships, fellowships, tutorships, and the like. Law students are not generally drawn from the class to whom the spur of poverty will prove an incentive, and unless there are valuable and important academical offices to look forward to, young men of ability will not endanger their professional prospects by accepting the minor appointments.

DISCUSSION.

Lord REAY said the subject was one certainly in which we were singularly backward in England, as compared with the Continent. The whole system of legal education in England, and also in Scotland (because the Scotch legal faculties are not what they might or ought to be), was certainly one of the weak sides of our educational system. We were not in the front position, or in such a position as France was in, as had been described by the Recteur of the Académie of Caen. The fact that we had not the same laws on both sides of the Tweed did not decrease, but increased our responsibility for having a proper system of legal training, because it was well-known from recent cases which had come before our courts, that occasions had actually arisen in which the courts of the two countries had come more or less into collision. The Orr-Ewing case was almost a disgrace to modern civilisation. That was a case which should have been made a matter of very simple litigation, as it was dealing with the property of a minor. However, the Lord Advocate was now in correspondence with the Attorney-General of England, and they must all hope that that correspondence would lead ultimately to the introduction of measures which would prevent such a state of things recurring in the future. There was nothing in the paper to which he could demur. If anything, the paper was too modest in its demand for searching reform. Professor Holland might have struck out a bolder line. For instance, in a future University for London, the institution of a legal faculty would put legal education on its proper footing, and supersede the inadequate machinery which had been spoken of. However, legal education should not be confined merely to training lawyers, but should also aspire to train others who did not intend to follow the profession of the

law. Those whose duty it was to make laws might certainly be called upon in some way to act in the matter. Members of both Houses of Parliament, of the civil service, of the diplomatic body, country gentlemen, when they were at the University should make the most of their time in acquiring legal knowledge which would be invaluable to them in after life. In Germany there was a difference between the so-called *Staatswissenschaften* and the *Rechtswissenschaften*, and in the Higher Education Act of Holland, the same distinction was introduced. Formerly, in Holland, those who were going into one of the legal professions, and those who were entering on public life, obtained the same law degree. By the Act of 1876 the curriculum was arranged in this way, that everyone had to pass an examination in Roman law. After that, there was a bifurcation, the legal students making a selection of lectures on criminal law, on civil law, on procedure, on commercial law, on administrative law, on public law, on public and private international law, according to their future career. Those who went into the administrative departments of the civil service, who would in our country pass the civil service examinations for the various ministerial departments, got a University training of that kind. He would like to put a question for the consideration of the Chairman, whether it would not be a very good thing if, at all events, some of the departments of the public service were thrown open to those who had mastered law at the University. For instance, he had no hesitation in saying, that for our diplomatists it would be of immense advantage if they had previously obtained a degree in what the Germans called *Staatswissenschaften*. He ventured to throw out this remark in order to show the importance of the subject as bearing on the various administrative and legal functions in the country.

Mr. TAYLOR asked how the study of Roman law in the University of Edinburgh, for instance, would compare with its study in the Universities of Heidelberg or Berlin. As London was the commercial centre of the world, he would

ask how much study was requisite to become a good commercial lawyer in London, and how rigid the examination was. Still further, he would like to know what were the actual facts with regard to examinations and studies connected with the Inns of Court.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Bryce) said with reference to the position of Roman law in Edinburgh, it was taught in Edinburgh by only one professor, an extremely able and accomplished jurist, as those who were acquainted with his excellent edition of Gaius well knew. Of course, as he was the only professor of the subject, the time devoted to it in the University curriculum was limited, whereas in Heidelberg there were five or six professors (not counting the privat Dozenten) teaching Roman law, and a still larger number at Berlin and Leipzig. There were now more teachers at Oxford than at Edinburgh, because, in addition to having two University teachers, the professor and the reader, they had four or five college lecturers employed on Roman law. No one, however, gave so many lectures as the professor at Edinburgh did ; and in quality the Edinburgh teaching was not surpassed even in Germany. In England we did not mark off the study of commercial law from the study of law generally. There were lectures given at Oxford upon the law of contracts which covered a great deal of what was called commercial law on the Continent. The Council of Legal Education, representing the four Inns of Court, issued notices containing full particulars and details of the lectures given by their professors, and of their examinations. As to what had been said by Lord Reay in regard to the topics called in Germany Staatswissenschaft and Rechtswissenschaft, it was true that in England we very much neglected all those aspects of law, and in fact all matters appertaining to statecraft, and not directly connected with the work of a legal practitioner. In England we had left them on one side completely, and had considered the learning of law as nothing but a means for enabling the student to draw conveyances and conduct cases in court, and we had no professors of that subject

in England or Scotland, except a professor of constitutional law in Edinburgh. He thought that was a great omission, and one which required a remedy, but as an illustration of the difficulty of proving the value of these things before the English mind, he might say that when a memorial was sent on the subject to the recent Oxford University Commission, they paid no attention to it. It had been observed that these subjects should be made a branch of public instruction, and included in any due preparation for public life. They were, however, subjects as yet scarcely recognised. Take the provisions and working of the great number of administrative statutes which we had in England, statutes determining the functions of all our public departments in this country, and their relations to the local governing bodies throughout the country, there was no help given by teaching to the gaining a knowledge of the collective law on those subjects, and there was scarcely a text book published upon them. If we had a professor in England in connection with that subject he might endeavour to summarize and explain those enactments. Then there were the economics of law in particular, and indeed the whole subject of economic science in its connection with law furnished a very important branch of study. He would take as an illustration the condition of the poor laws. There was the statute law relating to a public provision for the poor, the principles applicable to the grant of indoor and outdoor relief, and case of local taxation generally, the application of charities, the principles on which charitable endowments should be regulated, and the conditions under which the State should interfere with them where interference was necessary. All those matters furnished the basis for the making of laws, and questions of rating, and constituted a body of knowledge from which much experience might be gleaned to aid in practical legislation. Then, again, take the law as affecting trade. There were many topics bearing on the action of the State in commercial matters very suitable for academic teaching, and which fell within the head of

Staatswissenschaft, and might be assigned to, or brought into connection with, the legal faculty. Our system of legal education would not be complete until something of that kind was done. Something had been said with reference to the admission to practice in the United States, and to the legal teaching given in that country. With regard to the former, the universal practice in the United States was that the Government of every State in the Union reserved to itself the right to admit persons to practise at the bar; that was to say, that everywhere the profession was a close profession, and it was not permissible for any one who chose, to offer himself as a counsel or attorney without some authorisation. On the other hand the States entrusted in nearly every case to the judges this function of admitting practitioners, and the judges were authorised to hold examinations of persons who desired to be admitted to practice at the bar. In past times the examinations for admission had been generally conducted by the judges, or by members of the bar commissioned by them, in a loose and casual way, but of late years the examination had tended to improve, and in many states represented something substantial in the way of legal attainment. As far as he knew, there was no State in America in which a university degree immediately admitted to practice. It, however, well deserved to be considered, as had been suggested in Dr. Holland's paper, whether the experiment might not be safely tried of allowing the Universities, by the gift of their degrees, to declare men fit to practise. At the same time he quite admitted that while the Inns of Court regulated these matters, the call to the bar should rest with them, and he did not understand Dr. Holland to suggest that the admission to the bar should be left entirely to the Universities. That power ought to be left to the legal bodies, such as the Inns of Court, whom the law had hitherto recognised; but it was quite another thing to say that the legal bodies would not do well to recognise a degree given by a University as a ground for dispensing with any

further examination. The University examinations were now on a very high level, furnishing a guarantee of sufficient legal knowledge. With regard to teaching, the remarks which had been made on the subject in the United States were very interesting. Their teaching of Anglo-American law was far more complete than legal teaching in any part of England or Scotland. Roman law had been very scantily treated in America. Even in Louisiana he had been disappointed to find it scarcely taught; what was taught there, with perhaps a few lectures on Justinian's Institutes, was the French Code Civile. In the rest of the United States, where the common law prevailed, the study of Roman law was supposed to have been a luxury, but it was a luxury which was beginning to be more largely supplied. It was now taught in Columbia College at New York, at Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and he thought it was taught also at Yale University, and in the law school of the University of Michigan. As regarded the teaching of English or Anglo-American law in all its branches, the teaching in the law schools of the United States was far more completely developed than in this country. Men of the highest attainments as lawyers, and of the highest skill as teachers, lectured in the law schools there. He had himself seen the law schools of New York, Newhaven, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Cambridge (Massachusetts). All those schools were in a high state of efficiency, and the best answer to persons who in England still found it difficult to believe that such a system of legal teaching was of much value to the legal practitioner, was to be found in the experience of the United States, where students, after having taken their degrees in arts, were expected to devote from three to four years to the study of law alone in the Universities—giving the whole of their time to it, and where, having so studied, they got rapidly into professional work, or were able to procure good engagements immediately. A young man who had been so educated as a student was fit to practise at once at

the bar, and would certainly be a more capable lawyer after a year or two of practice than another man who, wanting the systematic education, might have been at the bar for five or six years. Though they could not make a similar boast regarding the law schools of England, still if they looked back on the position of things twenty years ago they could see how much had been done since that time, and a knowledge of the progress made would encourage us with regard to what remained to be done in the future. At Oxford, to take the instance he knew best, there had been an astonishing increase both in the number of students of law, and in the strength of the teaching staff. Yet looking at the example which Germany had set us in one direction, that of philosophical and historical instruction, and at that which America had set us in the other, that of practical and technical instruction, and also at what was done in France, according to what M. Liard had stated with regard to the condition of legal training in that country, Englishmen must feel that much still remained to be done. In conclusion, he proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Holland for his very practical paper, and to M. Liard for his valuable remarks upon the present condition of legal studies in France. The meeting was greatly indebted for the information which those gentlemen had given.

Mr. TAYLOR (of the High School, Philadelphia) seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously, and the Section adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 10 A.M.

Chairman : Sir GEORGE YOUNG, Bart.

Mons. BUISSON read the following paper by
Mons. Dumont :—

NOTES ON HIGHER EDUCATION
(ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR)
IN FRANCE.

By ALBERT DUMONT.

THE establishments of Higher Education in France are :—

1. The Faculties which formed part of the old Universities, viz., theology, law, medicine, science, philosophy ; the High Schools of Pharmacy, and the “ Écoles de plein exercice ” (or complete studies), and Preparatory Schools, which teach medicine and pharmacy.

2. The establishments devoted to the study of special sciences, or to science generally, and to higher intellectual culture, besides the Faculties, such as the Museum, the Collège de France, the “ École pratique des Hautes Études,” “ The Observatories,” &c.

3. The special schools, such as the “ École Normale supérieure ” (Higher training school), the Schools of Athens, Rome, and Cairo, the “ École des Chartes,” and the “ School of Eastern languages,” which prepare students for literary or scientific professions.*

* For further information on these institutions, no better guide could be consulted than the “ Statistique de l'enseignement supérieur,” published in 1878. It is the anonymous work of a gentleman who for many years was Director of Higher Education, M. du Mesnil, now

I.

THEOLOGY.

The Faculties of theology are seven in number ; five are Catholic and two are Protestant. Catholic theology : Paris, Bordeaux, Aix, Rouen, and Lyons ; Protestant theology : Paris and Montauban.

The German Empire, with a Catholic population of 16,000,000, has seven Faculties of Catholic theology, with 852 students (winter half year 1883-84), at Bonn, Breslau, Freiburg, Munich, Münster, Tübingen, Würzburg.

The French Faculties have no regular students, but only auditors, who are often very numerous.* A lecture is sometimes attended by 300 persons ; the professor deals with general questions, and is, as it were, a lecturer. The Church attaches no canonical value to the degrees conferred by these Faculties ; and the State requires no degrees, notwithstanding the numerous decrees on the subject.† It is, therefore, a kind of teaching which has no direct usefulness. The situation of the Faculties of theology is precisely similar to that of the Faculties of philosophy (*lettres*) before 1876, when divers changes took place, with the result that the latter Faculties are now attended by regular students. The professors are enlightened, learned men, who diffuse historical and moral knowledge, and give proof of great erudition. A certain number of important works are every year brought

State Councillor. In this volume will be found not only an exhaustive collection of facts and documents, but also the most correct views on the progress to be realized. Every one in France is familiar with the services rendered to Higher Education by M. du Mesnil, often in the midst of great difficulties, and with a devotedness to public interest that nothing could shake.

* During the first half-year of 1883-84, the Faculties of Catholic Theology have granted thirty-nine "inscriptions" (registration of students).

† Law of the 23rd of Ventôse, Year XII. (14th of March, 1804), on the establishment of Metropolitan Seminaries. "Ordonnance" of December 25th, 1830.

out by the professors, being the result of their lectures. The Faculties of theology might have regular students if the teaching were divided in lessons and lectures; the lectures would then serve as a preparation to obtain degrees which the State, using its undisputable right, would require to be taken by persons aspiring to fulfil certain ecclesiastical duties; but this question is far from being purely educational; and it will be solved according to the manner in which the public powers shall understand the relations between the Church and the State.

Twenty-nine professors are entrusted with the teaching of theology, which was begun in the Middle Ages, and originated all others, at a cost to the State of about 160,000 francs (£6400) per annum.

The Protestants are 580,000 in number, 80,000 of whom are Lutherans. The Faculty of Paris is *mixte* or dual; that of Montauban is reserved for Calvinists. In both, the teaching is of a professional nature, and is destined for special students,* many of whom belong to seminaries; the Faculties confer the necessary degrees required for the exercise of pastoral duties.† The question of the suppression of these Faculties, which are an indispensable branch of the Protestant Church, does not arise in the same manner as that of the Catholic Faculties; and it is proposed to place them under the Ministry of Public Worship. The German Empire has seventeen Protestant Faculties, which hold an honourable rank in the university system, and do not interfere with the free development of the spirit of research. The number of pupils in these Faculties is over 3600.

In France two systems are proposed. The opponents of the theological Faculties contend that the State ought not to entertain any theological opinion, and consequently that

* During the first half-year of 1883-84, the Protestant Theological Faculties have granted eighty-five "inscriptions" (registration of students).

† Law of the 18th of Germinal, Year X. (8th of April, 1802). No one shall be allowed to perform the duties of a minister unless he has taken a "brevet de capacité" (qualifying degree).

it ought not to favour with its patronage any doctrine in preference to others. It is argued on the other side that, in a general sense, the State has no opinion, and only requires the professors to be conscientious and earnest men, at the same time allowing them the fullest liberty—a liberty whose only limits are self-imposed. Theological doctrines, having numerous adherents and affecting the religious belief of many, may be taught like any other doctrines. Being placed in the same universities as science and philosophy, they will be subject to the same natural law of reciprocal influence and evolution through study and criticism. It is certain that the suppression in modern Europe of the systems, ideas, and books constantly brought out by the Protestant Faculties would not be without influence on the progress of Thought.

LAW.

There is a Faculty of law in every academical chief town (chef-lieu), with the exception of Clermont and Besançon.

The following list gives the number of Faculties in each academy.

1. Paris.—Five Faculties.—School of medicine at Reims.
2. Aix and Marseilles.—Theology, law, science, philosophy. School of “plein exercice” (complete studies) of medicine and pharmacy.
3. Besançon.—Science, philosophy, school of medicine.
4. Bordeaux.—Five Faculties.
5. Caen.—Law, science, philosophy, schools of medicine at Caen and Rouen, and of theology at Rouen.
6. Clermont.—Science, philosophy, school of medicine.
7. Dijon.—Law, science, philosophy, school of medicine.
8. Douai and Lille.—Law and philosophy at Douai, science and medicine at Lille, schools of medicine at Amiens and Arras.
9. Grenoble.—Law, science, philosophy, school of medicine.
10. Lyon.—Five Faculties.

11. Montpellier.—Five Faculties, with the exception of theology.
12. Nancy.—Ditto.
13. Poitiers.—Law, science, philosophy, school of medicine. Schools of medicine at Tours and Limoges.
14. Rennes.—Law, science, philosophy, school of medicine; school “de plein exercice” (complete studies) of medicine and pharmacy at Nantes, school of medicine at Angers.
15. Toulouse.—Law, science, philosophy, school of medicine, theology at Montauban.
16. Algiers.—High schools of law, medicine, science and philosophy.

Of the thirteen Faculties of law, eight date from the 22nd of Ventôse, year XII. (1st of March, 1804); the others are of recent origin: Nancy (1874), Douai (1865), Bordeaux (1870), Lyons (1875), Montpellier (1879). The number of professors and “agrégés” (substitutes to the professors) varies between the maximum, 34 at Paris, and the minimum, 18. The average number is 15 professors, lecturers (chargés de cours) or “agrégés.” This *personnel* is sufficient for all requirements, and in this respect we are not in a position of inferiority as compared with the other European universities.

The total number of law students during the first half year of 1884 was 5,849, distributed as follows:

Paris	.	.	.	.	.	2594	(921)
Aix	.	.	.	.	.	244	(190)
Bordeaux	.	.	.	.	.	377	(347)
Caen	.	.	.	.	.	211	(340)
Dijon	.	.	.	.	.	134	(299)
Douai	.	.	.	.	.	142	(389)
Grenoble	.	.	.	.	.	122	(158)
Lyons	.	.	.	.	.	228	(165)
Montpellier	.	.	.	.	.	230	(217)
Nancy	.	.	.	.	.	165	(165)
Poitiers	.	.	.	.	.	274	(338)
Rennes	.	.	.	.	.	252	(251)
Toulouse	.	.	.	.	.	814	(377)
Algiers	.	.	.	.	.	62	
Total.	.	.	.	.	.	5849	

If the students were equally divided among the thirteen Faculties, each of them would have 445 students ; but the population varies considerably in the various academical divisions. We must compare the number of law students in each academical district with the total number of students in the Faculty of the same region. We have a statement giving the native "département" of each of the students for the year 1877. The figures between brackets in the above table show the number of law students native of each academical district in 1884. We cannot here establish a strictly correct comparison, since the figures refer to two different years, but if we take into account, and make allowance for, the number of students attracted to Paris, it will be correct to assume that the distribution of law students among the provincial Faculties is, in the majority of cases, quite normal. The new Faculties were soon attended by the number of students that may be considered as their normal contingent, and sometimes by more than that number. It is probable that the establishment of the new Faculties of law at Clermont and Besançon,* would not diminish in any perceptible manner the number of students in the other Faculties, but would promote a taste for such studies among young men who at present neglect them because they are unable to leave their native province. It is to be desired that the establishment of new Faculties may take away some students from Paris. In 1877 over 100 students, natives of the district of Clermont-Ferrand, were studying in Paris. The difficulty of finding a staff of professors equal to their task, and the wish on the part of the authorities to maintain the high character of the teaching, appear to have been the chief obstacle to the foundation of new Faculties of law.

The proportion of students to the population is satisfactory, being 15 in a 100,000.

The expense incurred by the State for the Faculties of law is about 1,700,000 francs (£68,000). According to the latest published accounts, the examination fees alone amounted to 1,374,000 francs (£54,960) ; therefore the

* Some of the students now at Dijon would go to Besançon.

expenses incurred by the State on this head only amount to 400,000 francs (£16,000).* The law of March 18th, 1880, has decreed the gratuity of "inscriptions" (registration); before that date the Faculties of law brought into the Treasury 1,595,000 francs (£63,800).†

MEDICINE AND PHARMACY.

During the first two-thirds of this century, France had only three Faculties of medicine, at Paris, Strasburg, and Montpellier. After 1870 the Faculty of Strasburg was transferred to Nancy; and other Faculties were then established at Lyons (1877), Bordeaux (1878), and Lille (1876). Medicine is also taught in two schools "de plein exercice," where complete studies can be gone through, but where some of the examinations only take place, and in sixteen preparatory schools where students can study for three years out of the four required for obtaining the degree of doctor. Three high schools of pharmacy have been established at Paris, Montpellier, and Nancy; and pharmacy can be learned in all "*mixte*" (dual) Faculties, and in all schools of medicine.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS REGISTERED DURING THE FIRST HALF-YEAR OF 1883-1884 IN THE FACULTIES OF MEDICINE.

Paris	4544
Bordeaux	223
Lille	118
Lyons	249
Montpellier	168
Nancy	84
Total	<u>5386</u>

* Not including the libraries, maintenance and other expenses.

† Accounts for the year 1879.

**"MIXTE" OR DUAL FACULTIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF PHARMACY
(STUDENTS OF PHARMACY).**

Paris	501
Bordeaux	116
Lille	81
Lyon	127
Montpellier	58
Nancy	47
Total	<u>930</u>

**SCHOOLS "DE PLEIN EXERCICE" AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS
OF MEDICINE AND PHARMACY (STUDENTS OF MEDICINE AND
PHARMACY.)**

SCHOOLS "DE PLEIN EXERCICE."

Marseilles	108
Nantes	101

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

Algiers	61
Amiens	66
Angers	53
Besançon	36
Caen	43
Clermont	49
Dijon	39
Grenoble	48
Limoges	50
Poitiers	44
Reims	44
Rennes	70
Rouen	55
Toulouse	136
Tours	41
Total	<u>1044</u>

**NUMBER OF STUDENTS REGISTERED IN 1884 AT THE SCHOOLS
"DE PLEIN EXERCICE" AND THE PREPARATORY SCHOOLS OF
MEDICINE AND PHARMACY.**

SCHOOLS "DE PLEIN EXERCICE."

Medicine.		Pharmacy.	
Doctorship	61	1st class	12
Officership	74	2nd class	62
Total	<u>135</u>	Total	<u>74</u>

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

Medicine.		Pharmacy.	
Doctorship.	. . 237	1st class . .	. 41
Officership	. . 250	2nd class. . .	. 307
Total . . .	. 487	Total . . .	. 348

	Medicine.	Pharmacy.	Total.
Schools "de plein exercice" . . .	. 135	74	209
Preparatory Schools . . .	. 487	348	835
Total . . .	. 622	422	1044

As we have just seen, the number of medical students is 6008, and the number of pharmacy students 1352, thus giving 19 students for every 100,000 inhabitants. It cannot be said that this number of students is insufficient. The statistics of the German Empire for the same half year give a number of 6572 students.

Between Paris and the other Faculties there is a want of proportion much to be regretted. It is impossible to give proper education to over 4000 students, and to train them practically, and especially with regard to clinical studies. In the study of medicine, more than in any other study, the student must be attached to the master, and the master must closely guide the student. The ideal would be the establishment of classes of 400 or 500 students at most ; but, on the other hand, clinical studies require vast hospitals and able physicians ; such hospitals and physicians, as a rule, are to be found only in large cities. In other countries this problem has been partly solved by the establishment of district hospitals in which patients are numerous enough, and by the system of "polyclinique."

For many reasons, it would be an advantage if the students first attended preparatory schools, where, not being very numerous, they would be well trained. This is not what takes place ; the studies which must precede clinical studies, viz., chemistry, physical science, histology, and physiology, require special professors. Now, the towns in which the preparatory schools are situated are especially well provided

with distinguished medical men, who have no time to apply themselves to these particular sciences. Consequently preparatory schools, contrary to their name, do not appear calculated to afford the best preliminary teaching, with the exception of anatomy ; on the contrary, it would seem as if they were better adapted for clinical studies.

The proper distribution of students amongst the medical school districts in France is a difficult problem ; the authorities are considering the question, but no satisfactory solution has, as yet, been found.* All the various schemes that have been proposed are more or less injurious to the interest of medical education. Things, therefore, remain in the same state, to the great detriment of preparatory schools, for whose prosperity it is imperative that something should be done. Formerly these schools were essentially practical schools ; they formed second-rate, but useful medical practitioners, to whom they afforded an elementary education, i.e., "officiers de santé."† Nowadays, we are more exacting ; public opinion is unfavourable to the "officiers de santé," a great deal more than formerly is expected from doctors ; the standard of examinations has constantly been raised ; science occupies in examinations a much larger place, and, in consequence, the situation of preparatory schools has become more critical.

A better distribution of the students among Paris and the other five Faculties is not a wish the realisation of which is impossible. The distribution of law students, to which we have alluded, augurs well. Indeed, out of the five provincial Faculties, four only have hardly been five or six years in existence ; they are not yet completely organised ;

* "Enquête sur le régime des Écoles de plein exercice et des Écoles préparatoires, à la suite d'une circulaire du 4 Novembre, 1812." Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1883.

† Laws of the 11th of Floréal, Year X., 19th of Ventôse, 21st of Germinal, Year XI., and decree of the 20th of Prairial of the same year. These documents are very precise on the subject. All the legislation on Higher Education has been collected in an excellent work entitled : "Lois et règlements de l'enseignement supérieur," by M. Arthur de Beauchamp. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, Delalain, 1880-1884.

and those of Bordeaux, Lille and Lyons are now being completed. We must, therefore, wait until these institutions are in regular working order before students can be attracted to them. Bordeaux has already a numerous student population; and Lyons possesses admirable resources. The organisation must be pursued, and, above all, great care taken to appoint none but men of merit. All concessions to local prejudices in favour of candidates of indifferent merit would be the loss of the Faculties, which would break down under such influences; but all the Faculties in which science will be the chief consideration are bound to succeed.

The preponderance of Paris in the competitions for professorships (*agrégation*) is a cause of much soreness in the provinces. Time will put an end to this difficulty, when the Faculties shall have been long established and organised, and given incontestable proofs of ability. At the present time the Faculty of Montpellier only can claim to have rendered signal services for a long period of time; but that of Lille, for instance, has hardly emerged from the state of a preparatory school, and has not yet attained its full development.

The Faculties of medicine have hitherto granted none but professional degrees. The idea has been mooted that there might be good reasons for acknowledging, by means of a diploma, more strictly scientific attainments, to give to accessory knowledge, but looked upon as fundamental by many competent judges, a place of honour, and, in a general manner, to give to science, unaccompanied by practice, a means of being acknowledged by special examinations. This question, discussed in the Faculties, has given rise to opposite opinions;* it is, however, easy to foresee, in a more or less immediate future, a practical solution which, while it will in no degree interfere with clinical and other studies, where art and tact are all important, will give fresh energy to researches on biology.

* "Enquête sur le Doctorat-ès-sciences médicales, à la suite d'une circulaire du 31 Octobre 1882—Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1883."

Many difficulties, which are insuperable now, when we consider the condition of the Faculties of law and medicine, will be naturally solved from the day when the Faculties of science and philosophy will exercise sufficient influence on public opinion.

The ordinary annual cost of teaching medicine and pharmacy is 4,300,000 francs (£172,000).

Faculties of Medicine	2,804,000 francs.
Schools of Pharmacy	493,000 „
School of Algiers	130,000 „
Schools of “plein exercice” and Preparatory	928,000 „
Total	4,355,000 francs.

According to the last published accounts, the amount received for examination fees exceeded one million francs (£40,000).

The teaching of medicine and pharmacy therefore costs about eight times as much as the teaching of law.*

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY (LETTRES).

The fifteen Faculties of science and philosophy were not all established in 1808. This kind of education required a long time before it was organised in the various academies. We append the dates of their foundation; some of the Faculties, the establishment of which was decreed in 1808, were hardly organised at that period, and were suppressed in 1816. The years we give refer to the time when these Faculties were really in working order.

SCIENCES.

First Empire.

1808	Paris.
	Montpellier.
1810	Caen.
	Toulouse.
1811	Grenoble.

* The supplementary expenses (not included in the above amount), which are insignificant for the Faculties of law, are very heavy for medicine and pharmacy.

No Faculty of science was established during the Restoration.

Monarchy of July.

1834	Lyons.
1838	Bordeaux.
	Dijon.
1840	Rennes.
1845	Besançon.

Second Empire.

1854	Clermont.
	Lille.
	Marseilles.
	Poitiers.
	Nancy.

PHILOSOPHY (LETTRES).

First Empire.

1809	Paris.
	Besançon.
1810	Caen.
	Dijon.
	Toulouse.

Monarchy of July.

1838	Bordeaux.
	Lyon.
	Montpellier.
	Rennes.
1845	Poitiers.
1846	Aix.
1847	Grenoble.

Second Empire.

1854	Clermont.
	Nancy.
1856	Douai.

The above table is sufficient to show how neglected the Faculties of science and philosophy remained for about

half-a-century. This is one of the facts which told very much on Higher Education, especially in the provinces.

The duties of the Faculties, besides the direction of the examinations, consist in diffusing science and philosophy by means of public classes; in teaching by means of lectures the professional subjects, the knowledge of which is required from the professors of "lycées" and colleges; in promoting the personal efforts of the students under the practical guidance of the masters. In this variety of duties, each professor strikes out for himself a particular line, according to his ability and the kind of influence he is able to exercise. The value and importance of public classes has ever thrown much lustre on the Faculties, and these lessons have had a notable influence on public opinion and intellectual life in our country.

It will be sufficient to recall the successes of Guizot, Villemain, and Cousin. The example they gave has never been forgotten, and many of their successors have given proofs of rare ability. The teaching of the higher branches of philosophy in France would not be adequate if it were devoid of that *éclat* given to it by eloquent and remarkable discourses, and of that character of personal observation, general organisation, clearness and taste which is associated with the arduous duties of philosophical teaching.

The lectures afford training for the future professors of secondary education who, not having been admitted to the "École Normale" (Higher Training School), would be deprived of all guidance were it not for such lectures. The professors make a choice of those among the regular students who are the most highly gifted, and under their supervision they undertake personal studies which they will be able to continue and complete at some future time.

There are no correct statistics of the number of auditors who attend public classes. Some professors gather around them as many as three or four hundred all the year round. The students who attend lectures, or non public courses (*cours fermés*), must have their names inscribed on special registers. Their number varies in each Faculty.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS DURING THE FIRST HALF-YEAR OF 1883-84.

	Science.	Philosophy. (lettres.)
Paris	431	738
Besançon	39	68
Bordeaux	69	125
Caen	27	41
Clermont	31	34
Dijon	33	30
Grenoble	36	33
Lille	53	94 (Douai)
Lyons	57	72
Marseilles	56	34 (Aix)
Montpellier	49	64
Nancy	60	57
Poitiers	34	41
Rennes	38	38
Toulouse	76	112
School of Algiers	1	37
Total	1090	1584

The total number of regular students in the Faculties of science and philosophy is 2674; and if we add to the science students 480 students in the Polytechnic School, and 644 in the "École Centrale," and to both science and philosophy students, 132 students in the "École Normale," it will be found that the total number of students specially devoting themselves to science and philosophy hardly exceeds 3900. The number of students in the Faculties of philosophy in Germany is 8941. It will thus be seen that France, who is not inferior to Germany, when the number of law and medical students is considered, is far behind her when the number of philosophy students is taken into account.

We must add that the science and philosophy students were far less numerous last year than 2600; and that a few years ago there were hardly a few. This is accounted for by the state of neglect into which such studies had fallen, and by the facility (unavoidable under the circumstances) with which professors were appointed to the various lycées

and colleges, who had not undergone a complete course of studies in the Faculties.

CONCLUSION.

We here give a few details respecting the various Faculties, which will give a more accurate idea of what our educational centres are.

Number of Professors.

The number of Professors, Lecturers, "Agrévés," &c., is 1540. In Germany they are 2111 in number, including the teachers of languages, music, &c.

PROFESSORS.

Catholic theology	29
Protestant theology	19
Law	210
Medicine	204
Medicine and pharmacy (Facultés mixtes)	159
Science	212
Philosophy	225
High schools of pharmacy	49
Schools "de plein exercice," of medicine and pharmacy	55
Preparatory schools of medicine and pharmacy	286
Schools of science and philosophy	60
Schools of Algiers	32
Total	1540

The following table gives the number of Professors in each educational centre :—

ACADEMICAL CHIEF TOWNS:—	Catholic Theology.	Protestant Theology.	Law.	Science.	Philosophy.	Medicine (Faculties).	Pharmacy.	Schools "de plein exercice."	Preparatory Schools of Medicine and Pharmacy.	Science and Philosophy.	Schools of Algiers.	Total.
Aix-Marseilles	5	..	15	14	9	..	..	..	.. 18	..	..	43
Besançon	..	..	..	10	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	41
Bordeaux	6	..	14	15	18	50	..	..	..	..	..	103
Caen	..	..	15	11	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	58
Clermont	..	..	..	8	11	..	..	..	17	..	..	36
Dijon	..	..	13	8	13	..	..	..	17	..	..	51
Douai-Lille	..	..	17	12	15	45	..	..	..	..	..	89
Grenoble	..	..	14	11	8	..	..	..	17	..	..	50
Lyons	6	..	15	20	19	64	..	..	..	..	..	124
Montpellier	..	..	14	16	15	43	13	..	..	..	..	101
Nancy	..	..	14	17	12	41	11	..	..	..	..	95
Paris	7	10	34	38	38	120	25	..	..	..	..	272
Poitiers	..	..	13	9	11	..	..	..	20	..	..	53
Rennes	..	..	15	9	11	..	..	..	19	..	..	54
Toulouse-Montauban	..	9	17	14	18	..	..	..	23	..	..	81
Algiers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	Law II Scien. II Phil. IO	53
Marseilles	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	.. 11	..	31
Nantes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	35
PREPARATORY SCHOOLS:—												
Amiens	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	17
Angers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	9	..	26
Arras	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	11
Chambéry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	13
Limoges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	18
Reims	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	18
Rouen	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	27	..	50
Tours	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	17
Total	29	19	210	212	225	363	49	55	286	60	32	1540

SCHOOLS "DE PLEIN EXERCICE."—

PREPARATORY SCHOOLS:—

This table shows that the University of Paris, taking into account the professors of the Faculties only, has 272 teachers; that of Lyons, 124; that of Bordeaux, 103; and that of Caen, 58.

If all the High Schools of Paris, placed under the authority of the Ministry of Public Instruction, were united into one body, such an institution would give 490 lectures a-week, or 81 daily, on an average.*

Expenses.

The estimates for the Faculties for 1884 amount to 11,552,000 francs (£462,080), not including 928,000 francs (£37,120) contributed by the towns for Preparatory Schools, making altogether 12,470,000 francs (£499,200).

The ordinary expenses for the Faculties have amounted in 1884 to 9,199,000 (£367,960).

Faculties of Catholic Theology	.	.	160,765 francs.
„ Protestant „	.	.	110,770 „
„ Law „	.	.	1,739,740 „
„ Medicine „	.	.	2,804,715 „
„ Science „	.	.	2,116,945 „
„ Philosophy „	.	.	1,397,475 „
High Schools of Pharmacy	.	.	493,390 „
„ „ at Algiers	.	.	375,865 „
Total			9,199,665 „

The above figures do not include the expenses for the buildings, scholarships, and libraries, which amount to more than 2,000,000 francs (£80,000), viz., 500,000 francs for buildings, 720,000 for scholarships, 468,000 francs for libraries, &c.

* “Programmes des cours dans les établissements d’enseignement supérieur de Paris.” Paris, Delalain, 1884. See also: “Cours d’enseignement supérieur faits à Paris durant le premier semestre de l’année 1879-1880.” This pamphlet gives a much larger number of lectures, because it includes those which are not placed under the authority of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

II.

MUSEUM.

The edicts of 1626 and 1635 show what were originally the characteristic features of the *Jardin des Plantes Médicinales*. Founded with the object of competing with the Faculty of Medicine, which confined itself within narrow limits, and was supported by the "Parlement," this institution, which for a long time was at war with the Faculty, was intended especially to study the various plants with regard to their usefulness for preserving human health.

Under the direction of Buffon (1739-1788) its sphere of action was extended to the whole range of natural history. The "Convention" (10th of June, 1793) decided that the Museum should henceforth promote the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and art; and twelve professorships were consequently established. At present this institution consists of chemical laboratories; it is also a Museum, and one of the richest in the world, possessing magnificent collections, placed under the care of "professeurs-administrateurs."

The latter's duties are to increase the collections, to undertake personal works, and to give a certain number of lessons to make their discoveries known. Practical lessons are given by other institutions, such, for example, as the Agricultural Institute ("Institut Agronomique") and the Faculties. The aim of the Museum is essentially scientific; its object is to assist in the progress of Natural History; and although students are admitted, they must not expect to hear long-established doctrines, but new theories; and they are trained to make original researches. The courses of lectures are the following:—Organic and Inorganic Chemistry, Organography and Physiology (Vegetable Kingdom), Comparative Anatomy, Mammalia and Birds, Reptiles and Fishes, Articulate Animals, Annelides, Mollusks, Zoophytes, Natural Philosophy applied to Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy, Vegetable Physiology

applied to Agriculture, Classification of Natural Families, Cultivation, General Physiology, Paleontology, Anthropology, Comparative Pathology, Drawing applied to Natural History.

“COLLÈGE DE FRANCE.”

The Collège de France owes its origin to a wish on the part of King Francis the First to give facilities for the teaching of educational subjects which the Faculty of Arts did not recognise, or recognised reluctantly. It will thus be seen that the origin of this institution is due to causes very similar to those which brought about the foundation of the “Jardin du Roi,” and to the disinclination of the powerful University Corporation to encourage progress. At a subsequent period, professorships were established at the Collège, to which the Faculties of law and medicine were unfavourable. Like the “Jardin du Roi,” the Collège was attacked by the University, and, like the “Jardin,” triumphed over its enemy. It is a characteristic feature in our history that at various times the State has often proved itself to be more liberal than the bodies which ought to have set the example. The first professorships were those of Greek and Hebrew, then came Mathematics, Philosophy, and Latin Rhetoric. Under Francis the First, there were already twelve royal professors. Henry the Fourth established a professorship of Anatomy and one of Botany.

The “Convention” did not suppress even for a time the Collège, but re-organised and enlarged it. It now comprises 40 different professorships: Astronomical Mechanics, Mathematics, Natural and Mathematical Philosophy, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Mineral Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Medicine, Natural History (inorganic bodies), Natural History (organic bodies), Comparative Embryogeny, General Anatomy, Law of Nature

* “Le Muséum d’Histoire naturelle.” Paris, Société Anonyme des imprimeurs réunis, 1884. Notice published by the directors of that Institution.

and Law of Nations, History of Comparative Legislations, Political Economy, History of Economical Doctrines (Economical Geography and History), History and Morality, History of Religions, Æsthetics and History of Art, Roman Epigraphy and Antiquities, Greek Epigraphy and Antiquities, Egyptian Philology and Archæology, Assyrian Philology and Archæology, Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac Languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages, Chinese Language and Literature, Language and Literature of Tartary and Mandchouria, Sanscrit Language and Literature, Greek Language and Literature, Latin Rhetoric, Latin Poetry, Modern Philosophy, French Language and Literature of the Middle Ages, Modern French Language and Literature, Languages and Literatures of German origin, Languages and Literatures of Southern Europe, Celtic Languages and Literatures, Slavonic Languages and Literatures, Comparative Grammar.

The special lectures on philology are attended by a small number of auditors who are real students, and it is the same with scientific lectures ; the laboratories are so small that a few students only can be admitted, but a scheme for enlarging them has been submitted to the Chambers, and will certainly be voted. Some literary lectures are attended by a select audience, a great number of whom are compelled to stand in the doorway and corridors, so great is the rush.

Contrary to the original intention of its founder there are, in the Collège, professorships which, being similar to those in the Faculties, are almost useless. The Collège is authorised by its charter, whenever a vacancy occurs, to suppress the teaching of certain subjects and to replace them by more modern ones. This is a step that the Assembly of Professors have never consented to take.

Several professors in the Collège have expressed a regret that their lessons are not supplemented by practical exercises, or completed by lectures given by tutors (*répétiteurs*).

It would be interesting to prepare statistics giving the

number and names of the students who, having come to attend the lectures of the Collège from various countries, have occupied professorships in the several European universities to the credit and honour of their masters, Burnouf, Abel Rémusat, Stanislas Julien, and many others.

“ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES.”

The Practical School of High Studies was founded as recently as 1868, and has exercised great influence over Higher Education in France. Many improvements which have taken place since that period are due to this institution, fostered by M. Duruy. That minister's object was to place at the disposal of scientists the material means they required to enable them to carry on personal researches, and to train under their immediate supervision a few students desirous to devote themselves to the higher branches of science. As regards philology and history, it was also his intention to establish lectures for the promotion of practical exercises unrestricted by any programme, regulation, or qualification by university degrees. The scientific section has now been amalgamated with the institutions among which it was distributed in 1868, and in many cases has appropriated their budget to its own use. The section of philology and history forms an independent institution, situated in the vicinity of the library of the Sorbonne, under the patronage of the learned M. Léon Rénier, who has so happily realized the ideas of M. Duruy. It comprises the teaching of twenty-eight or thirty subjects, as varied as the domain of learning itself: Sanscrit, Romance and Celtic Languages; Arabic, Zend, Ethiopic; Classical, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Oriental Antiquities, French “patois;” Gothic; old German; Merovingian and Carlovingian Institutions; Classical Epigraphy; Origin of Modern History, &c. There are many *seminaries* which supplement the lectures of the classical Faculties and those of the establishments beyond the authority of the universities, such

as the Collège de France. This section is absolutely independent and self-directing. It publishes a series of volumes, which are now 57 in number, and many of which are looked upon as standard works in the scientific world. Numerous foreigners attend the lectures of the "École des Hautes Études."

"BUREAU DES LONGITUDES" AND OBSERVATORIES;
"BUREAU CENTRAL MÉTÉOROLOGIQUE."

The "Bureau des Longitudes," established on the 25th of June, 1795, was intended to be the chief astronomical institution in France. It was armed with the greatest authority, which it has since almost entirely lost. A decree dated the 30th January, 1854, has separated it from the Observatory; it is at present an academy composed of learned astronomers and geographers. It publishes an *Annuaire*, the *Connaissance des Temps*, and some *Mémoires*. It is composed of 13 members, 2 associates, and 1 artist.

The principal observatory is that of Paris, founded under Louis the Fourteenth; the Observatory of Physical Astronomy, established by a decree of the 6th September, 1875, is in course of erection. The Central Meteorological Office (decree of 14th March, 1878) has taken the place of the old Meteorological Department of the Paris Observatory, and this branch has in consequence been largely developed. The Observatory of Montsouris (law of 10th of September, 1871) is devoted to the same kind of studies. The other astronomical and meteorological establishments are annexes of the Faculties of Science; they are:—the Observatory of Marseilles, founded in 1700, re-organized in 1872; the Observatory of Toulouse, re-organized at the same period; the Observatory of the Puy-de-Dôme (Faculty of Clermont), founded in 1871; the Observatories of Lyons (1878), Bordeaux (1878), Besançon (1878), Algiers (1858); and the Observatory of the Pic du Midi, founded by General Nansouty, and made over to the State in 1882.

The observatories of Marseilles, Toulouse, Lyons and Bordeaux have been in a nearly complete state for about ten years. The Observatory of Besançon is on the eve of being completed ; new plans have been devised for the Observatory of Algiers, and the necessary credits have been voted by the Chambers. A school of astronomy has been founded in Paris two years ago for the training of the staff required by these numerous establishments.

III.

“ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE.”

The “École Normale Supérieure” (High Training School), the original idea of which is to be found in the plan of education decided upon by the Paris “Parlement” in 1672, has experienced various changes, but it has always done credit to the University and trained the *élite* of its professors. It was founded because it was thought that a special training was required to qualify professors for the “lycées,” and to prepare candidates for the professorships in the Faculties. Looked upon, from its origin, as a kind of seminary where the *élite* of students would be brought together, it was not separated from the University. In 1808, the students attended the lectures of the Museum, of the “Collège de France,” and of the “Sorbonne,” and had supplementary lessons from the “maîtres de conférences” (lecturers), who were real tutors. The “École Normale” was successively under the authority of the Vice-Rector of Paris (1820), and of the “Proviseur” (Principal) of the “Lycée Louis-le-Grand” (1826). It was only in 1828 that a special director was appointed. Until 1847 it was situated in the buildings of the Collège du Plessis, and had neither sufficient room nor the necessary appliances required for an independent and self-supporting institution. Since that date it has been more completely provided with the necessary requirements, and has gradually become less dependent upon other institutions, although still in regular

connection with them, especially with regard to scientific education. At present the students in the scientific section are taught partly by private masters, and partly by the professors of the Sorbonne, thus keeping up, to a large extent, the tradition of 1808. The students belonging to the section of Philosophy do not attend outside lectures except in the third year of their studies ; they have, within the "École," the required means of instruction. The importance of this institution lies in the services it has rendered ; in the exceptional merit of the students admitted to it, after a competitive examination, the candidates for which are constantly growing more numerous ; in the influence exercised over one another by distinguished minds when living in common ; in the resources afforded by fine collections and particularly by a valuable library ; and also in this fact, that the students must obtain their degrees in competition with candidates trained outside the "École."

From 1852 to 1857 the "École" was so absolutely considered as the chief seminary for professors of secondary education, that the students were not permitted to take their licentiate's degree until they had been at the "École" two years. Now it is questioned whether they should not all be licentiates before admission to the "École." As a matter of fact, a great number of licentiates are trained in the Faculties, amongst whom it would seem quite natural to make a choice so as to raise the standard of the studies. This idea, so simple in appearance, would involve a whole plan of reorganisation.

A decree, dated the 22nd of August, 1854, had established, in the "École Normale," a higher division, composed of students of four and five years' standing, who, whilst they took advantage of the teaching afforded by the institution itself, completed their studies in the higher scientific establishments in Paris. Hence the custom of having, in the "École Normale," a certain number of students of superior merit belonging to the scientific section, and, exceptionally, one or two students belonging to the section of Philosophy, known under the name of *agrégés préparateurs*. One of the

difficulties the directors of the "École Normale" have to contend with, is to give, in a proper measure, a proportionate share of attention to the attainments to be acquired by every competent professor of secondary education, and to that kind of knowledge which enables students to undertake personal and original works, in such a manner that the "École Normale" may always remain an institution of *élite* by the side of the numerous rival establishments. Its high position is beyond criticism, but its best friends could hardly be too ambitious in their wishes for its welfare.

The course of studies extends over three years, the number of students (Science and Philosophy) leaving the school yearly, after passing successfully the final examination (*promotion*), varies from 20 to 24. The candidates admitted to the section of Philosophy come, for the greater part, from the Paris "lycées;" but the provinces contribute most of the students in the section of Sciences. In the present year, out of sixty candidates having qualified for admission to the scientific section, thirty-two come from the provinces, and for the Philosophy section, three only, out of forty-eight, were natives of the provinces.*

SCHOOLS OF ATHENS, ROME, AND CAIRO.

These three Schools were founded, that of Athens in 1846, that of Rome in 1873,† and that of Cairo in 1880; and they have for their object the study of the history of Greece and Italy during all periods, but especially in ancient times, and the study of Egyptian Antiquities, and of Eastern languages. Special funds enable them to undertake journeys and explorations. There are in these Schools eighteen or twenty students specially engaged in extending their knowledge of the above subjects. The

* "L'École Normale (1810-1883). Notice historique," par Paul Dupuy. Paris, Léopold Cerf, 1884.

† A. Geffroy, "L'École française de Rome. Paris, Thorin, 1884.

School of Athens publishes a "Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique," and the School of Rome some "Mélanges;" these two institutions publish jointly a series of original papers, which has now reached its 39th volume.

"ÉCOLE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES VIVANTES."

The School of living Eastern Languages (10th of Germinal, year III., 30th of March, 1795) comprises the following course of studies, of which we give a full list, with the number of registered students, but omitting independent auditors.*

Learned Arabic	21
Vulgar Arabic	9
Persian	9
Turkish	10
Malay and Japanese languages	2
Armenian (Professorship now vacant)	2
Modern Greek	2
Chinese	7
Japanese	1
Annamese	2
Russian	7
Servian	5
Hindustani and Tamul	1
Geography, History, and Legislation of the Mahometan States	4
Geography, History, and Legislation of the States of the Far East	4
Roumanian	2

At no period has this institution better answered its double purpose, which is to give to students a practical knowledge of Eastern languages, and, at the same time, to publish learned treatises. The collection of volumes regularly published since 1875 is already numerous.†

* "Notice historique sur l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, dans les *Mélanges Orientaux*," publiée à l'occasion du Congrès des Orientalistes à Leyde. Paris, Leroux, 1883. The author of this "Notice" is M. Carrière.

† See above "Notice," p. lii.

“ ÉCOLE DES CHARTES.”

Although founded by decree in 1806, the École des Chartes only commenced teaching in 1822. This institution is destined to train Palæographers. The course of studies extends over three years. 1. Palæography, Romance Languages, Bibliography and Classification of Libraries. 2. Diplomatics, History of Political, Administrative, and Judicial Institutions in France, Origin of French History, Classification of Archives. 3. History of Civil and Canonical Law in the Middle Ages, Archæology of the Middle Ages, Origin of French History.

This Institution is a seminary, perhaps unique of its kind in Europe, for studies relating to the Middle Ages. It is of great usefulness in training a number of students, now disseminated all over the country, and who search its archives, and study its monuments. The “Bibliothèque (Record of Transactions) de l'École des Chartes” has been published regularly since 1839.

The number of students in each “promotion” is 20.

These few hasty notes only refer to the institutions which are under the authority of the Ministry of Public Instruction. And to speak only of Paris, the “École des Beaux-Arts” gives literary and historical education; the various branches of antiquity may be studied at the “École du Louvre;” the School of Anthropology, and the Free School of Political Science (1872) have numerous students. We must also mention the Polytechnic School, the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, the “Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers,” the Veterinary Schools, the Agricultural Schools at Grignon, and in the provinces, the Agricultural Institute, the “École d'Application de Médecine et de Pharmacie Militaire,” the School of Mines, the “École des Ponts et Chaussées,” the High School of Commerce,” &c.

BUDGET OF THE CHIEF SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY ESTABLISHMENTS AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

École Pratique des Hautes-Études	300,000 francs.
École Normale Supérieure	500,000 "
Collège de France	490,280 "
École des langues Orientales vivantes	157,616 "
École des Chartes	71,300 "
School of Athens	79,400 "
School of Rome	73,640 "
School of Cairo	65,800 "
Museum	918,442 "
Astronomical and Meteorological Institutions (Bureau des Longitudes, Central Meteorological Office. Observatories of Paris, Montsouris, Meudon, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Lyon, Besançon, Pic du Midi, and School of Astronomy)	
	978,200 "
Total	3,634,748 "

IV.

The present condition of Higher Education in France is, to a great extent, explained by historical causes. The institutions which compose it were founded partly under the old Monarchy and partly under the Republic and the Empire. The Monarchy has bequeathed to us the "Collège de France," the "Jardin du Roi," and the Observatory. In 1789 our twenty-two Universities were in a far from flourishing state; not only were they inclined towards retrograde ideas, but, from a professional standpoint, they were mere mediocre educational institutions. Public opinion was against them. The antipathy that was felt for them was still increased by the misuse of their privileges. It is a remarkable fact that no one took up their defence when they disappeared. They had felt the effects of time, several of them were five or six hundred years old, and had served as models for European Universities. Their past glory and the services they had rendered make it our duty to speak leniently of a decay which was only too natural.

The question whether those decayed institutions might have been revived is a difficult one to solve. I should be inclined to doubt it. It must be pointed out that the Faculty of Arts, which corresponds to the present Faculties of Science and Philosophy (*Lettres*) and to the German Faculties of Philosophy, was left in a state of great inferiority. It was called the "petite faculté" or the "faculté préparatoire," and was composed of the youngest students, of mere schoolboys ; it was a continuation of secondary education, from which it differed but slightly. Given up to humanists, and restricted by narrow regulations, it was deficient in what constitutes vitality, variety, and progress. Nothing was more unlike what, according to modern ideas, ought to be the higher branch of Scientific and Literary Education.

From the 16th century no novelty could be introduced except outside the Faculty of Arts : that is, in the "Collège de France," in the Museum, or in the Observatories. This Faculty was an essentially exclusive body, and wished to remain so. From the day when, through its obstinacy, the new sciences were set up by the side of, or in opposition to it, the progress of the Universities became impossible, and their cause was lost. As regards special studies, they left to other institutions the merit of displaying the requisite activity, and of furthering progress ; from a general point of view, instead of promoting the development of Reason and of Thought, they abandoned the direction of minds to men whom they considered as their enemies.

The schools of Law and Medicine did not deserve to be so severely criticised, but these Faculties, which at all times are bound to maintain a professional character, ought not to be exclusively professional. They should receive constant impulsion from Science and Philosophy, and this was impossible considering the constitution of the Faculties of Art. The four Faculties were quite as independent from one another in the 18th century as they are now, for they were united by an imaginary tie ; the unity of the Universities is due much less to the regulations which decree it than to

the spirit which animates them. If the thought of Science and of an ever-progressing high culture predominates, the very unity of thought, in its effort to elevate itself, keeps up amongst all branches of learning a general exchange of views and methods. This acts as a perpetual incentive, which binds together the various systems, and mutually gives life to them; no other unity is possible. This unity did exist in the 13th and 14th centuries under the influence of the great divines of that time, but when faith in theology was shaken the unity was destroyed for many years, if not for ever.

The Revolution, despite its efforts, could not escape the influence of historical causes. In the admirable theories which it has handed down to us, the thought never occurs that it was necessary to re-establish the Universities, and to accomplish in the name of progress, in the name of the philosophy of the 18th century, what theology had done five centuries before. The Revolution conceived the foundation of great independent institutions, each being devoted to a particular branch of science, and enjoying absolute freedom. Such was the principle upon which were organised the Museum, enlarged, and made more complete for the study of Natural Science, the "Bureau des Longitudes" for the study of Astronomy, the "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" for applied science, and a certain number of special schools for the study of Eastern languages, for preparing students for scientific professions (Polytechnic School), and for the duties of teachers of secondary education (École Normale). It also seemed to the men of that time that progressive science would be adequately represented by the "Collège de France," as conceived by Francis the First. The unity of literary and scientific culture would be preserved by the "Institut" invested with a high intellectual authority; that body was to be, not only speculative, but administrative as well, thus forming a real Ministry of Science and Philosophy. Neither the "Convention" nor the other Assemblies of the Revolution had a more precise notion of unity and its advantages.

After the hesitancy of the Directory and the Consulate, the Empire completed the organisation of the professional schools of Law and Medecine, and restored the old Faculties of Arts; they were independent of the others, and their duties were to train professors, and, in many instances, simply to instruct Principals of Colleges, and to confer degrees. The result was that, twenty-five years after 1789, the condition of Higher Education was similar to that of the system left to us by the old Monarchy, but with greater development, more vitality and activity, especially in the case of some institutions better endowed than others. The division and specialization of the various kinds of studies, limited to independent institutions; the mediocre and often secondary situation of the literary and scientific Faculties; the establishment of practical schools for certain studies; an ill-judged separation of the spirit of research from scientific education, as well as of the practical exercises which teach students how to work, from the general routine of teaching; such were the general features of our system of Higher Education, when the year 1815 closed one of the great epochs of the Revolution.

From 1815 to 1870 the principles remained the same, although many special measures contributed to practical progress. A great number of new professorships were established in the Faculties; but whenever a new branch of teaching appeared to be necessary, instead of being added to the Universities, it formed an independent foundation.

Such was the case with the "École des Chartes," which was endowed with a special existence, instead of being introduced in the existing bodies. The "École Normale," which was originally an annexe of the Sorbonne, was gradually detached from it, until it had (especially the section of Philosophy), a distinct existence. When M. Duruy wished to afford students facilities for the practical study of philology and history, it was impossible for such studies to be made at the Sorbonne, or at the Collège de France. He was, therefore, compelled to establish a special school, known as the "École des Hautes Études;" and this

experiment was not looked upon favourably by the old Faculty of Arts. At the same time, the great institutions devoted to pure science, although having had periods of great *éclat*, did not always maintain with equal success their great reputation.

Isolated and independent, and placed beyond criticism, because they were joined by all the men who were able to criticise them; enjoying the complete independence given them by the "Convention," they proved how dangerous autonomy is when exempt from competition. The Museum, and the "Bureau des Longitudes," have not always advanced with steady steps, because they did not feel the necessity of realising some daily progress. Who could criticise them but foreigners, whose opinions were hardly known in France? Those celebrated professors were thus exposed to the dangers of Fame. The "Collège de France" remained an assembly of eminent men, who gave themselves up to their favourite studies, had a modest position, were detached from the University proper, and kept at a distance from students, who only came to them when urged on by an irresistible, but at all times very uncommon, vocation.

Whatever criticism may be directed against such a system, it must not be forgotten that it is the natural product of French idiosyncrasy, and that it is useless to recriminate when dealing with historical facts.

Yet it has thrown singular *éclat* on Science and Philosophy, for it has not prevented a number of eminent men from shedding lustre upon the nation; and altogether, considering the services it has rendered, has deserved well of modern civilisation.

If it is desired to introduce some modifications in this system, great circumspection will have to be exercised, and nothing should be destroyed that cannot be adequately replaced. Possibly no one would have had any idea of modifying it, but for two important facts which impose great duties upon us. These facts are the masterly organisation of educational work in various parts of Europe, in

Austria, England, Holland, Italy, and especially in Germany, and the progress of democratic ideas in France.

Since the beginning of this century, Germany has reformed its Universities, which have not always been in a flourishing state, and for the last forty years the higher teaching of Science has been admirably organised on a methodical and very practical plan. To the literary, philosophical, and historical current which followed close upon the wars of the Empire, was added, towards 1840, a special taste for research in connection with the study of nature. These great reforms have been carried on with the help of the ancient and time-honoured institutions which have served as a constantly enlarged basis for the establishment of novel features, without forgetting the lessons, experience, or accumulated information of the past, nor the traditions which are strengthened by time. Germany has students, and numerous masters of all degrees, bound by the ties of discipline, and who accomplish the greatest possible amount of useful work ; it possesses libraries dating from the time of the Reformation, and even before that period, and which are daily being increased ; and by degrees all the laboratories have been re-organised. The Universities make the intellectual unity of the nation ; they are known and esteemed by all ; they constantly give new life to the German mind, and, at the same time, promote commercial and industrial wealth. They are the principle of the intellectual and material life of a nation of forty-six millions of men. And although we have only mentioned Germany, what causes for emulation, what incentives are offered to us by the sight of what takes place among neighbouring nations. Indeed the same current, the same progress are plainly distinguishable throughout Europe.

Democratic ideas are making rapid strides in France ; they cannot be checked, nor is it desirable that they should be checked. They are the natural consequence of an evolution which will take place throughout Europe. If such ideas hold sway in our country, the fact is explained by our ancient origin, and also, no doubt, by some of our

national characteristics. Democracy is the government of the people by the people ; and it must not be attempted to counterbalance it either by an hereditary aristocracy, which tired of fame has wished to, and did, abdicate, or by a moneyed aristocracy having but little power. The last-mentioned aristocracy does not appear to exercise with sufficient firmness its only legitimate and fruitful action, which should consist in working in harmony with the mass of the people to promote public welfare.

The only real authority possible in such a political state is that which springs from dignity of character, acquired knowledge, services rendered, and ability to render more. The classes formerly called upper or leading classes (*classes dirigeantes*), like the popular or lower classes, entertain rather, the former prejudices and mistrust, and the latter vague aspirations, than precise notions. Our country must acquire the just notions which it lacks, and this can only be done through study and reflection. True and scientific opinions appear still doubtful to the mass, and as traditional convictions are daily losing ground, it is correct to say that the public mind has yet to be educated.

Popular common sense, agreeing in this respect with the philosophers of the 18th century, has an instinctive belief in the "power of enlightenment," and expects everything from the progress of Thought and Science. What has often been said with touching declamatory exaggeration by so many orators from 1789 to 1795 is, in the main, an indisputable truth. We are, therefore, led to believe that a comprehensive and manly education for distinguished minds, diffusing through the country principles of truth and common sense, which in time will become truisms, is indispensable to form the faith of modern times. An *élite* must bring forth ideas ; the crowd then lives upon them and absorbs them as it does the ambient air. This *élite*, which must exclude no willing mind, and must be accessible to all, whatever their origin or position may be ; this ever vigorous, active, and constantly-renovated aristocracy, welcoming every intelligent and noble mind, can only be

created by high culture. Primary education and secondary education are preliminary stages through which every one must pass according to his abilities ; but above them is Higher Education, which is, properly speaking, the nation's mind, endeavouring to acquire the most extensive knowledge and to get nearer the truth every day, in order that all may profit by its progress. It, then, appears to us that there is no single nation to whom Higher Education is more indispensable than ours. French democracy would be the most reckless of adventures if it swerved from those principles. Whatever may be accomplished in the other branches of education will only be useful in proportion to the progress of Higher Education, which alone can vivify and perfect them, and prevent them from being more harmful than otherwise. Primary knowledge is only of service when applied to the general direction of every-day life according to rules and considerations which are much above ordinary reasoning powers. Secondary knowledge, being essentially didactic, can only serve as a weapon or a tool ; the mode of turning to good account this preparatory knowledge in order to live well, *i.e.* to develop and elevate the mind and character, is taught by higher speculations. Even in the matter of wealth the primary student is an artisan, the secondary student a foreman, whilst the higher student is an inventor ; each of them can only rise from the first two classes by an effort and by work. A nation of artisans and foremen would soon be beaten by a nation having inventors, for it is invention alone which in important or secondary matters can secure the first place among so many competing efforts. So also in intellectual matters, the artisans and foremen are powerless unless assisted by inventors.

It will be readily understood that those who entertain this view of the interests of the country cannot restrain their devotion to the cause of Higher Education. Broadly speaking, the country, since 1870, has had a very keen notion of its duties in this respect, and has felt that it was imperative to make serious efforts to prevent France from

being placed in a painful condition of inferiority with regard to other nations. This opinion has clearly prevailed in the Government Councils, in the Chambers, and in the Municipal Assemblies. It should be noted that the more liberal such bodies were the more they were in favour of making great sacrifices to promote Higher Education. In undertaking so arduous a task, no one was found able to prepare and carry out a comprehensive plan. The truth is, that parliamentary government does not lend itself to the realisation of such vast designs; and besides, it would require extraordinary self-confidence to destroy all that has been done in the past, and originate an entirely new system. The originator would have disappeared before the foundations of his work were laid. In a neighbouring country a Minister has had sufficient energy to propose a system which amounted to nothing short of a complete reform of the whole organisation of the Universities. M. Bacelli's faith in the correctness of his ideas has met with great sympathy, and secured for him many admirers in all Europe. Such comprehensive and noble views are not at present practicable in France; we must confine ourselves to wishing our neighbours every success, for their prosperous application might dispel the mistrust and timorousness prevailing in our country. We have, therefore, confined ourselves to simple and practical reforms, at the same time endeavouring to frame them in such a way that they should not be an obstacle to any just ambition. What has been commenced in the way of reforms can be summed up as follows:

1. Construction and fitting up of educational establishments.
2. Increase in the number and variety of subjects taught; competition and freedom introduced in the educational system.
3. Formation of a body of regular students in the Faculties of Science and Philosophy and organisation of special lectures for students.
4. Modification of the programmes of the Faculties of Law and Medicine.

5. Preponderating authority given to educational bodies in the matter of educational methods.

Comfortable appointments and perfect scientific appliances do not produce genius. In order to be convinced of this, it is enough to see the dark and cold room in the "Collège de France," where Claude Bernard made his most remarkable discoveries. M. Pasteur's experiments on fermentation were carried on at the "École Normale Supérieure" in a small room, having as an annexe a closet where the most delicate manipulations were performed. The first laboratory of Liebig at Giessen ought to remain as an example of what exceptional intellects can accomplish even with the most imperfect means at their disposal. But if men of extraordinary ability can often do much out of scarcely anything, it is necessary to have much space and abundant material means to turn to account many discoveries. Some experiments, moreover, cannot be successful unless every facility is given to those who undertake them; and lastly, the State must not rely upon the wonders that may be accomplished by superior men; its duty being to assist talent and to train students. Science is like an army, requiring many soldiers, well kept together by non-commissioned officers, and having the necessary *matériel*.

The want of the most elementary facilities for working disheartens average talent; and it is chiefly upon average talent that we must rely; it justifies every desertion and weakness. The public forms its estimation of the value of things according to the sacrifices made by the State. When Science is in a condition of penury, it is forgotten and depreciated. It is necessary that on seeing a commodious building destined for scientific work, children, artisans, and men of the world should say: "This is the palace of Science, and Science deserves to dwell in palaces."

For the last forty years the state of scientific research has been modified, chiefly on account of the progress of chemistry and natural philosophy, and, more recently, of physiology. Simple class-rooms are no longer sufficient; professors, like manufacturers, require spacious, very simple,

but well-lighted laboratories. Architectural beauty, decorative luxury, and even durability, are useless. A principal laboratory, sufficiently well built to last a hundred years, and extensive grounds, where light temporary buildings might be erected and pulled down, as cases would require; such is the ideal of many scientists. Throughout Europe the necessary buildings and appliances for the study of science are being renovated. In France this problem was made more difficult still, by the necessity of providing for the newly-registered students of the Faculties of Philosophy, the required premises, which were wanting everywhere, such as assembly and lecture-rooms, and, in many instances, of organising complete libraries.

The State and the towns have resolutely set to work. They have erected the Faculties of Grenoble; the Faculty of Medicine of Lyons, to which the town has contributed much the larger share; and the Faculty of Science; the Faculty of Medicine of Paris; the Faculties of Bordeaux; the observatories of Lyons, Bordeaux, Besançon; and the State has built a new school of Pharmacy in Paris, and monumental galleries at the Museum. The rebuilding of the Sorbonne, and of the Faculties of Montpellier, Toulouse, Lille, Marseilles, Caen, Clermont, and Dijon, are now being proceeded with. Laboratories of Marine Zoology have been fitted up at Concarnau,* Roscoff, Banyuls, Luc-sur-Mer, Havre, Marseilles, besides the simpler establishments at Vimereux and Cette.

Without going into details, the work of reconstructing the buildings necessary for the purposes of Higher Education has already necessitated an expense by the towns and the State of about 82 millions.

* The "Station" of Concarnau has been made over by the Navy Department to that of Public Instruction. The laboratory at Banyuls is due rather to the personal efforts of M. Lacaze-Duthiers, assisted by the Town and "Département," than to the initiative of the State.

1868 to 1878 :—

Sums voted by Municipal Councils	.	.	27,000,000	francs.
Subsidies from the General Councils	.	.	600,000	"
Subsidies from the State	.	.	12,900,000	"
				40,500,000 "

1879 to 1883 :—

Sums voted by Municipal Councils	.	.	22,900,000	francs.
Subsidies from the General Councils	.	.	200,000	"
Subsidies from the State	.	.	18,700,000	"
				41,800,000 "

As will be seen, the share contributed by the State amounts to 30 millions, and that contributed by the towns to 49 millions.

The libraries have received an annual subsidy, which now amounts to 468,000 francs, and the expenses for the collections of the Faculties, and for lectures, amount to 1,200,000 francs per financial year.*

The Faculties of Philosophy and Science had, until 1850, a very small number of professorships, the average being five or six for each Faculty. In 1830, with the exception of Paris, there were in all France thirty professors of science, and twenty-three of philosophy; in 1852, the numbers were sixty-two and sixty respectively; and in 1869 they had been increased by thirty-seven. M. Waddington having, in 1876, introduced in the budget a credit of 300,000 francs for lectures, the number of professorships was increased,† and in August 1883 they were as follows: 179 in the Faculties of Philosophy, and 166 in

* Faculties of Medicine	{	Expenses for lectures	.	240,080	francs.
		Expenses for collections	.	114,300	"
		General expenses	.	55,350	"
Faculties of Science	{	Expenses for lectures	.	315,900	"
		Expenses for collections	.	171,600	"
		General expenses	.	42,665	"
High Schools of Pharmacy	{	Expenses for lectures	.	100,500	"
		Expenses for collections	.	74,000	"
		General expenses	.	16,650	"

Not including 95,745 francs for the "dual" Faculties of Bordeaux, Lille, and Lyons.

† "Arrêté" of November 5, 1877.

the Faculties of Science ; the numbers at the present time are 210 and 194 respectively. They are, and will be, steadily increasing.

The newly-organised lectures have for their object to assist the titular professors, and also to introduce in the Faculties subjects which hitherto had been excluded, such, for example, as Sanscrit, Antiquities, Semitic and Celtic languages, &c.

A decree of 1883, adopted by the "Conseil Supérieur," has authorised free lectures in the Faculties. This is quite a recent reform ; yet this year three free courses of lectures have been given in the Paris Faculty of Philosophy, and altogether there have been ten such courses in the whole country. This new system will enable whoever is gifted with talent to show it, and will induce masters of secondary education to attempt to teach in the Faculties. As degrees are not indispensable, any scientist who has neglected to take them, will thus be able to prove what ability is in him, and to make the students profit by his knowledge. Already we had free Faculties ; now the State opens its lecture-rooms to competition, and to variety of doctrines. If we could be allowed to express a regret with regard to the institutions founded in virtue of the law of the 12th of July, 1875, on free education, we should say that both masters and students have contributed in too small a measure to the progress of science.

It was also M. Waddington who caused regular students to attend the Faculties of Science and Philosophy by instituting 300 licentiate scholarships,* to which M. Ferry has added 200 "agrégation" scholarships. By the side of the scholars an increasing number of free students attend the lectures. It is in this manner that we have gathered together the student population, the numbers of which we have given above. The presence of the students has also modified the character of the teaching which now appeals to them and to the public at large, whilst formerly it

* Financial law of December 29, 1876. There are now 350 scholarships, 60 of which are for medicine and pharmacy.

was given almost exclusively for the benefit of simple auditors.

In the Faculties of Medicine the studies have been organised since 1878 so as to give greater scope to practical lessons in chemistry, natural philosophy, natural history, physiology and histology, without interfering with the teaching of anatomy, surgery, and especially clinical medicine, which is one of the most important subjects of our medical education.

The history of law, and International law, has received a larger share of attention in our schools of law, in accordance with this recognised principle that history, philosophy, and comparison with foreign institutions cannot but have a very advantageous influence on such studies. The optional subjects for obtaining a doctor's degree have been so modified as to give greater freedom to personal tastes, and promote personal efforts. Measures have been taken in order that the doctor's degree may be, at the candidate's option, a valuable administrative qualification. It has been attempted to link more closely together medicine and science, and law and philosophy.

The law of the 27th of February, 1880, proposed and advocated by M. Jules Ferry, has re-modelled the "Conseil Supérieur" and made of it an assembly in which all the branches of education are represented by elected members. That body discusses all educational questions. The Academic Councils, which are to each Academy what the "Conseil Supérieur" is to the whole University, discuss, previously to their being submitted to the High Assembly, all the projected measures; and as the Faculties have been consulted in the first instance, the educational body has absolute power over all the methods of teaching, and the changes that it may be necessary to introduce in them. These modifications, moderate though they be, reflect great credit on the Government who initiated or promoted them.

V.

In this work of moderate reforms, it is easy to point out useful changes and improvements to which attention should be given.

In the first place, the work of reconstructing the buildings should be completed. And in order to do so, and to improve the fittings and appliances, which are of equal importance, the State must devote to that object a further sum of 40 millions by means of annuities, extending over a certain number of years. Considering the heavy pecuniary sacrifices made by the towns, and particularly by Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Marseilles, Grenoble, it can hardly be expected that the municipalities will contribute more than one-half the sum required for the new buildings. It should also be mentioned, that in consequence of various financial measures, into the detail of which it is needless to enter, the sum appropriated in the budget for this purpose does not now exceed 460,000 francs, to which no surplus can henceforth be added as hitherto. Out of that 460,000 francs, we must deduct 200,000 francs for current expenses, repairs, and the daily sundry improvements. Consequently the Ministry can only devote a sum of 260,000 francs yearly to building purposes. Besides, out of the 18 millions promised by the State since 1879, a large amount remains to be paid. With an annual credit of 260,000 francs, therefore, it would be impossible to pay off the debts incurred.

Under the circumstances, and according to the opinion of competent men,* the only practical way out of the difficulty consists in allowing the institutions of Higher Education to draw money from the fund established to provide for the construction of schools and "lycées;" this fund would then become common for all three branches of Public Instruction, and its denomination would have to be modified.

* This has been proposed by M. Berthelot. See "*Revue Nationale de l'Enseignement* (April 15, 1813), and "*Le Temps*" newspaper, March 15, 1883.

It would also be divided into three sections corresponding to these three branches.

As regards Higher Education, regular annuities of 4 millions extending over a period of ten years would be sufficient. This is an insignificant expense when compared with the cost of Primary and Secondary Education.*

The credits voted as subsidies to the "lycées" and Colleges for boys and for girls since the fund was established have amounted to 98,600,000 francs.

The "Caisse" for loans at 4 per cent during 30 years, including reimbursement of capital, has received 75 millions on account of advances to the towns; the total of expenditure for secondary education therefore amounted to 173 millions.

The credits voted under the head of Primary Education for building purposes, since 1878, amount to 340 millions, out of which 150 millions for subsidies, and 190 millions for money advanced, or loans.

It is estimated that the construction of "lycées" and colleges will cost 80 millions more, and the construction of primary schools 716 millions. Out of these considerable amounts a share should be reserved for the purposes of Higher Education, the exigencies of which are comparatively moderate.

Indeed, taking as a basis the present estimates, which give fourteen hundred millions as the amount of the necessary credits for the buildings and appliances required for all the branches of Public Instruction, it would be sufficient to

* For the "personnel" also the increased expenditure will always be much less than for the other two branches of education, as was clearly shown by M. Roche, reporter on the last budget of Public Instruction: "With regard to the increased expenditure since 1870, primary education has absorbed 82 millions, having been raised from 8 millions to 90; in other words, the expenses of primary education have been multiplied eleven times, whilst those of secondary education, raised from 3½ millions to 16,832,900 francs have increased fivefold, and the expenses of Higher Education, source of every science and progress, having been raised from 4,215,521 to 11,540,355 francs, have only been a little more than doubled."

devote slightly more than one-fourteenth of that sum to Higher Education to furnish it with the indispensable requirements. If such a subsidy is not forthcoming, the considerable sacrifices of money made by the Chambers to increase the *personnel*, establish scholarships, and enlarge the libraries and collections, will, to a great extent, be useless. The public powers should also consider that they have placed the ordinary budget on such footing as to be sufficient, for a long time to come, for the daily wants of education, and that there only remains to complete the task of erecting the buildings, an expense which once made will not have to be renewed.

The ties which bind together Higher Education and Secondary Education are not sufficiently strong. A great number of the professors in the colleges and "lycées" have not attended the lectures of the Faculties. In the "lycées," the principal professors, who are "agrégés," come from the "École Normale," to which they are indebted for their high attainments; but those who do not come from that school are in most cases self-trained, and only went to the Faculties in order to undergo the required examinations; consequently, University life is unknown to them. In colleges the evil is greater still, there being on an average only two licentiates of philosophy, and one licentiate of science in each institution; the other masters are simple "bacheliers" or teachers. The time will come when every professor shall be either an ex-student of the "École Normale," or of the Faculties. Then a great progress will have been realised, the professors will all have at least an idea of what the superior method of teaching is, and they will give their students the benefit of their experience, and prepare them all the better for the Faculties. At present students are unsufficiently prepared; and their want of training when joining the Faculties is due much less to the changes introduced in secondary education in 1880, than to mediocre teaching. A certain number of years must elapse before this evil is remedied; for we have to take into account acquired rights, and the necessity of awaiting

the superannuation of present teachers. Whatever can be done in this direction will benefit the whole University, and the country.

Previous to 1789 the Faculties of Arts, and the colleges under their authority, were in constant communication. This fact ought to be a warning to us that it is not sufficient to bind together these two branches of education, and that such a reform would even be dangerous if other ideas were not always present to the teachers' mind.

Care should be taken not to make of Higher Education a kind of Secondary Education of a more refined order. The remedy to this lies in the importance to be given to personal and original efforts, in the introduction of various subjects of tuition which foster a taste for research, and those studies of a higher kind which have no immediate professional usefulness.

The Faculties are teaching bodies, but they are also establishments from which scientific discoveries are expected ; and the manner in which they perform the latter duties is practically the only guarantee that they have properly acquitted themselves of the former. The labour of teaching is lessened in proportion to the masters' self-confidence, and, consequently, they ought to have time enough to devote to original research. Through such researches, and the talent they possess, they will be able to maintain a real authority over their former students, and thus they will be the founders of schools in the absolute sense of the word.

Out of the twenty-two Universities of the German Empire, there is not a single one in which extra classical subjects are not largely represented ; the Semitic languages and Sanscrit are taught in towns of 15,000 inhabitants. The history of art and archæology are included in all their programmes, whilst in the provinces we have only four professorships of archæology. Romance languages, which are, to a great extent, French, are only taught in three towns besides Paris ; they are taught in at least twenty towns in Germany. Our Faculties of Philosophy are not accustomed to the teaching of these subjects, which have never formed

part of their curriculum, and they may apprehend that by adopting them their character might be altered. The introduction at the Sorbonne of studies we are not accustomed to in other institutions is looked upon as a reign of chaos, so difficult is it to attempt anything in Paris, with a view to founding a University, without interfering with long standing customs or acquired rights. In the provinces the masters are doubtful as to whether they would find students, for such new subjects do not readily attract students.

As all kinds of studies are largely represented in Paris, although there is no common link between them, it is particularly in the provinces that it is necessary to give students a high opinion of Higher Education by means of lectures not included in the classical programmes. The foundation of professorships will, if the professors who are first appointed are able men, give rise to a taste for those studies, and there will not be a lack of students as it is at present feared ; for recent examples are reassuring. Putting things at their worst, the professor having only one or two students will have time to undertake personal researches, and will, therefore, render sufficient services to the country. The study of the most abstract sciences will have for its result the development of a taste for original research even amongst those who confine themselves to classical subjects. Whatever difficulties we may foresee—and they are numerous—we cannot believe in the existence of provincial Universities unless they are actuated by a strong taste for science, and this is the only thing that can give them vitality and maintain them. But for this principle we should only have a number of more or less secondary lectures ; for such a reform can be decreed, but nothing durable can be done by simple administrative measures.

What is also wanting in France, especially in the matter of Philosophy, is a sufficient educational literature ; we mean works which can assist students, and also works in which the various methods are discussed. Every science requires handbooks, in which the subjects are set forth in

their natural order, and the state of each question clearly indicated, with a list of the works which can be consulted in order to go farther into the subjects. Such handbooks relieve the master from the trouble of teaching a number of details which he would have to re-introduce every year ; for he can refer the students to them, at the same time ascertaining that they make use of them, commenting upon them when necessary, and supplementing them by practical exercises. We are now making use of the handbooks of neighbouring countries ; we must have our own handbooks for every branch of philology and history, and they must be written in accordance with our particular turn of mind, and that character of originality we are able to give to them.

A very valuable educational review is published by the "Société de l'Enseignement Supérieur ;" but a country having sixteen Universities requires more than one publication of that kind. The pedagogy of Higher Education has been considerably neglected in France for this reason that the Faculties of Science and Philosophy hardly had any students to train. These questions are now obtaining more attention, and it is seen how interesting they are. Four courses of lectures on Pedagogy, recently organised, have met with success, and were attended by auditors belonging to the three branches of Education. We may hope that these matters will now be discussed in University circles more frequently and with greater precision than formerly. The moral tone adopted by the Professors, their eloquence and refinement, are qualities worthy of all esteem, yet there might also be room for introducing other features, as in foreign countries. The psychology of education, the examination of the relations to be established among the various branches of education, the selection of the best methods, and especially the theory of national education ; such are the subjects which it is desirable to see fully discussed. The supporters of the old doctrines are still numerous ; they have every facility to produce their arguments, and the liveliness of the discussion can alone ensure

the triumph of truth. The reformers should understand that their work will not last if it is not combated; discussion can alone enlighten opinion and lead to the success of correct ideas.

This kind of study does not always admit of theoretical dissertations; pedagogy is taught by practice as much as by theory, especially when addressing students who have had the advantage of being trained in the Faculties. We can, therefore, compare the special reviews on the subject with those published by the Faculties in order to promote original research in the various branches of study. The initiative came from the Faculty of Philosophy of Bordeaux, which was soon joined by that of Toulouse; Lyons followed in the same path; Algiers has a special publication for Africa; Clermont and Poitiers have each a students' journal, and at Douai the students themselves publish a review. This proves that these subjects are being actively discussed, and that there is a strong sense of the duties the Faculties have to fulfil. We should regret to see a great increase of such publications, if the number of students remained the same; but as it will increase every day, there must be a means of giving publicity to their ideas and opinions. Besides, some of the existing publications are far from displaying the accuracy and rigidity of principles they should aim at reaching. The scientific life of the provincial Universities can only be maintained by an increase of such publications. To allow everything to be first printed in Paris is to abandon the legitimate pretensions of the provinces to have their own works, and to prove their ability by deeds.*

Intellectual decentralisation is certainly one of the most important matters for the consideration of those who are interested not only in the educational question, but in the general welfare of the country. Many untrodden paths of study are open in the whole of France, and many vary

* We do not allude to the various medical and scientific reviews published in the provinces as, in this respect, there was not the same dearth of publications.

according to the different regions. What those who wish to explore them are deficient in, is method ; they have not been trained, hence a great deal of useless efforts and meagre results. Philology, history, archæology, cannot be approached with the imperfect knowledge gained by secondary education ; a better preparation is required, and Higher Education alone can give it ; and what is true with regard to philosophy is equally so with regard to science. The provincial decentralisation is as yet very imperfect ; broadly speaking, the works hitherto produced have been, as a rule, insufficient. With the exception of what has been accomplished by the students of the "École des Chartes" and other special schools of Paris, they have not given rise to a taste for study, and have not been sufficiently praised by competent judges to induce students to undertake such labours. Those, however, who do so, take great pains, and are disheartened. We may legitimately hope that after a time a number of important works will be produced in the Faculties. We must remember that in the past, two hundred years ago, a fruitful decentralisation took place. Since the Renaissance the evil has constantly grown worse ; it behoves modern democracy to continue the work of Louis XIV. and of the Revolution.

Will the young men, who enjoy the rare privilege of being able to think only of cultivating their mind, without having to consider the question of remuneration, take advantage, more than formerly, of the facilities extended to them ? It would be rash to hold sanguine views on this matter. It seems as if the advantages of wealth were incompatible with the greatest boon they can confer, *i.e.*, that of being at the head of the nation through intellectual achievement and knowledge. However, we may be permitted to hope that when great facilities are offered to them by the diffusion of science in the provinces, they will not all remain indifferent. An improvement in this matter would exercise a wholesome influence over the social condition of the whole nation.

That intellectual life, so indispensable to the advancement

of science and public welfare, with the exception of one or two great towns, seems to find its chief obstacle in political centralisation. This will occur abroad in the countries where administrative unity is being organised. In old Europe every province had its University, and the more independent was the country the more flourishing the University. There arose among them natural rivalries ; the princes and the towns were promoting their own interests whilst protecting the learned corporations ; they afforded useful means of moral and political proselytism. In homogeneous states such powerful incentives are wanting. The question is whether democracy can discover for the Universities principles of vitality differing from those of the past. We may imagine the various cities competing for the privileges of fame, and of literary and scientific glory ; but if they do not, it may still be hoped that the Universities will compete with one another. Yet, the Moderator under whose authority they are, the State, being equitable for all, will have no reason to favour one part of the country in preference to another.

On the contrary, and owing to its spirit of justice, it could not encourage certain pretensions in preference to others, without wanting in that somewhat indifferent impartiality which is its *raison d'être*. The question, therefore, presents itself under circumstances such as Europe never saw until the unification of the principal States ; these circumstances are quite unprecedented, and give rise to singular difficulties.

Old and flourishing provincial institutions will still survive in certain countries for some time to come, but it will soon be seen how the future differs from the past. And where such institutions do not exist, it will be very difficult to establish them.*

Many among those who study this question are of opinion that the only means of succeeding is to bind

* On this subject consult the remarkable paper by M. Lavis : " Les Universités allemandes et les Universités françaises," " Revue des Deux-Mondes," June 1, 1883.

closely together the provinces and the towns and the Universities, which would enjoy considerable independence ; the towns would thus be induced to vie with each other in giving an original character to the institutions under their patronage, whilst the Universities would reach that state of progress which springs from responsibility.

The power of decentralisation can only be found beyond the sphere of central administration. It is an idle fancy to imagine that a supreme administration established in the capital, where every one can go, and disposing of the greatest intellectual resources, can decree the share of science and study to be allotted to every different portion of the country. All it can do is to give up a large share of its authority, which may be given to other bodies who will profit by it, organise themselves, and start on their career.

These were the principles upon which, in 1876, M. Waddington drew up a scheme for the re-constitution of the French Universities, some of which were to be complete, and composed of all the Faculties ; whilst in others the Faculties of Medicine were to be replaced by Preparatory Schools, or schools "*de plein exercice.*" Each University was to become a corporate body, governed by elected chiefs, under the simple control of the State. This project was temporarily abandoned, and has since been taken up by M. Jules Ferry, who has submitted the chief features of it to the Faculties for their consideration. The question is most momentous, and it would be rash to say when it will be possible to solve it in a practical manner ; but public opinion has been awakened ; the professors are examining the subject, and the simple fact that many generous and enlightened minds are at work upon the question is our best motive for hoping that ere long a decisive step in this direction may be taken.* A number of secondary measures adopted by the Administration are clearly inspired by a wish to see in every educational centre the United Universities assisting one another and practising self-government.

* See M. Bréal's opinion : "*Excursions pédagogiques,*" deuxième édition, preface.

The difficulty of these questions need not give rise to discouragement; they will be solved in the future. We believe the most important thing to do is never to depart from the following two principles: 1. Nothing should be reformed in the University except with the advice of the body of professors who will gradually feel that they ought to exercise preponderating influence over their destinies. 2. It should be thoroughly understood that the future of Higher Education in France depends on the more or less accurate idea that the masters and students, and the public at large, will form of its methods and of the valuable services it can render to the country.

DISCUSSION.

Professor A. DARMESTETER, who addressed the meeting in the French language, gave his own experience of the progress accomplished during the last few years in France, and more especially at the Sorbonne. There were now really earnest students who strove not only to do well in their examinations, but worked for themselves at scientific researches. The halls were too small to hold this mass of young people, who were earnestly taking notes, and who prepared themselves by private study for original work. Above all, there had arisen among these students an *esprit de corps* at which they could not but rejoice. They formed themselves into societies (Société des étudiants de la Faculté des Lettres, Société des étudiants de Paris) through the desire to exchange ideas, and to speak to one another of their studies. One could but foresee good from such a state of things. The future Sorbonne would not only be the palace of the professors, but, what was of so great importance, that of the young students. They might look forward with hope to the future. He concluded by giving public homage to the man who had had the greatest share in this happy revolution, M. A. Dumont, whose great and

vigorous mind understood the wants of the future, and had pursued their realisation with firmness, vigour, and capacity.

Dr. CROMBIE said the paper was so full of instruction and valuable information, that it would require a considerable time before one could put one's self in a position to say anything upon it. He had been struck with the vast extent of ground which had been covered by the paper upon the subject of the "Higher Education in France," and indeed the mere enumeration of the various schools or institutions for giving that higher education there would almost take away one's breath. They form certainly the nearest approach to that great idea of the University of London of the future, which had been so warmly advocated on the opening day of the Conference. He began really to be less doubtful than he had been of the possibility of realising that great idea, when he found that in a city at so very short a distance from us, the great city of Paris, that idea had been, to a very large extent, practically realised, and he did not see that the short expanse of water which separates France from England should prevent us from following in the wake of that country, and endeavouring to imitate, as far as our own institutions would let us, the example which they had set. The paper had covered so wide a field that it was impossible to do more than touch upon one or two points in it. One feature of interest referred to was the establishment of what were called the two schools of Rome and Athens. Those were societies of learned men in France, who devoted themselves to the study of the ancient history and antiquities of the two great cities of Antiquity, and the publications which had appeared under the auspices of the heads of those schools were, some of them, of the highest value both to the scholar and the antiquarian. He would not go into details with regard to them, but he would refer simply to the works mentioned at the close of the paper, amongst which might be mentioned the great History of Rome and Italy by M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction under the late Emperor Napoleon. That work was being translated into

English by a well-known Irish scholar, and it was not merely an admirable history of Rome, which was quite worthy of standing on the same shelf with the learned work of Mommsen ; but it contained many illustrations of ancient arts, manners and customs, selected with much taste, so that it formed the best companion possible to the history of that great country. He had great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to M. Dumont for his very elaborate and valuable paper, in which he had brought together so great a body of information, and he also begged to add what he felt sure would be heartily given, the thanks of the meeting to the gentleman who had read the paper.

Lord REAY said the great advantage of these Conferences was, that the persons present at them were enabled to form themselves temporarily into a Parliamentary Committee, and if he might be allowed, he would put Prof. Darmesteter in the witness-box for the purpose of asking him a few questions.

Professor DARMESTETER, in reply to the questions of Lord Reay, said that the École Pratique des Hautes Études had been established by a decree dated the 31st of July, 1868, at the instance of M. Victor Duruy, then Minister of Public Instruction, and comprised two great divisions, one for historical and philological sciences, the other for mathematical and natural sciences. Its object was to introduce in France those establishments for scientific research which constitute the strength of German Universities. For when it was founded, higher education in France only afforded *professional* scientific teaching, or theoretical public lectures, attended by auditors of every description. The want of a practical teaching of the methods of scientific research under the direction of a master was particularly felt in the matter of the historical and philological sciences. Hence the success of the Section d'Histoire de Philologie, which had been enlarged, and now numbered about thirty courses of lectures, comprising most of the historical and philological sciences now recognised. That section had published in fifteen years (since 1869) some sixty works,

mostly of the highest scientific value. It was self-governed, the council of professors, under the presidency of M. Léon Renier, being the sole governing body. The teaching was given by the directors or deputy-directors, and by tutors (*maîtres de conférences*). Since the modifications introduced in the last few years in the Facultés, and particularly at the Sorbonne, the "cours fermés" (non-public lectures) in the Facultés were tending to become similar to, and in some cases were identical with, the lectures in the École des Hautes Études. Indeed, some of the "maîtres de conférences" in the school had, without any difficulty, given the same lessons in the Facultés des lettres. Perhaps the two might be amalgamated later on, and a few had entertained the hope that it might be so. As regards the second division, it had soon been subdivided into three sections — mathematical sciences, physical sciences, and natural sciences. These sections had been established, not like the section of historical and philological sciences in three or four small rooms in the library of the University in the Sorbonne, but in all the establishments of higher education devoted to the teaching of mathematical, physical, and natural sciences. These had for a long time been provided with laboratories, to which were admitted not only the regular students belonging to such establishments, but also free students, who had merely to register their names at the Faculté des Sciences as students of the École des Hautes Études. When once they had been registered they were entitled to use the laboratories, and to attend the special lectures paid for out of the funds of the École des Hautes Études. This division of the teaching among ten or twelve institutions in Paris, and even in the provinces, with no other bond than a common name and title, had for its result to lead, so to speak, to the amalgamation of the scientific sections of the École des Hautes Études with various higher schools, which had indeed already been benefited by so many additional lectures and students. In the present state of things, the title of Student of the École des Hautes Études,

as far as the section of mathematical, physical, or natural sciences was concerned, had scarcely any advantage except to enable earnest students to gain easier access to the laboratories, and, if they were of French birth, to compete for the scholarships (*bourses*) yearly granted by the Paris Municipal Council. At the present time, for instance, the physical and chemical laboratories in the Museum, the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, the École Normale Supérieure, the École Centrale des Arts, as well as the laboratory for meteorological research in the Parc St. Maur, and the laboratories at Marseilles and Caen, were open to students registered as pupils of the École des Hautes Études. All this tended to the unity of higher education.

Dr. ZERRFI said Mons. Dumont's paper contained an assertion which was very curious, that the total number of students in the Philosophical Faculty in France was 2,674, whilst in Germany it was 8,941. That was a clear, distinct statement, but what was the cause of this fact. Of course the answer to that question was what would most interest them. A mere statement of figures was not of great importance. Why should there be a greater number of philosophy students in Germany than in France or in England? Because in Germany the student, before he entered any special profession, was required to be perfectly trained in philosophy, for then he would be able to understand his particular vocation with a broader mind, and be able to do more in it than he could do without that preliminary general training. He was not a German himself, but was born of a nation which was always desirous of fighting both Germans and Russians whenever they could. He was, moreover, a naturalised Englishman, which was perhaps another reason why he should not be biassed in favour of German education ; but he would say that, if a nation had distinguished itself either in education or administration, and had produced something perfect, from a higher educational point of view, we should examine it, learn it, and adopt it in our own country. It was no use to go and article a young man to a solicitor, under our present system,

without any preliminary training, because he would never be like a German solicitor who had had a training in philosophy for two or more years. And the same thing might be said of surgeons and of all the different professions. In England we had always the specialties isolated without any general course of teaching in those grand ideas which united society as a whole. There was a statement in the *Daily Telegraph* the other day about the Germans coming over here and taking the bread out of the mouths of our clerks. But did anybody suppose that an English merchant would appoint a German to a clerkship simply because he had such a fine square face and beautiful long beard? Of course there must be another reason for it, and that was that the German possessed a better education. The study of philosophy was divided into four sections: Moral and Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and the Literature of the Classics. Students had to find out that there were laws in the universe, and that they had to be moral beings in order to be responsible members of society. Having received such a training the man who had been educated in those general principles, whether he went to America, India, or to China, would always be able to find a little bread for himself and his family, because he would have the knowledge how to adapt himself to the circumstances in which he found himself. Then, there is the study of general history, a study which was entirely neglected in all our institutions—with the exception perhaps of five or six—all over England. People asked what was the use of learning general history; but if they knew the history of the Gracchi, if they were acquainted with the questions which agitated at that time the Roman Empire, the question of the Land Laws in England would soon be settled. If they knew the history of the patricians, and how it ended in the downfall of Rome, and the inroads of the Barbarians, they would be now in England above denying the franchise to the people. So that in every direction there was the greatest benefit to be derived from the study of general history. Then they came to mathematics, natural philosophy, and

the literature of the classics. The German student, when he came to the University, knew the Latin and Greek languages just as he knew how to write and read German. Without a knowledge of the Greek and Roman history—if the records of those ancient peoples were to be expunged from among the records of humanity in the teaching at Universities—much would be lost by the student. For those reasons they should not enter into the higher faculties without having gone through that training, whether those students were intended to become lawyers, surgeons, or theologians. He would ask any theologian present whether, through the study of comparative theology, a student would not become imbued with sentiments and feelings of a broader kind, and whether he would then be likely to become a narrow-minded dogmatist.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN said that before referring to one or two points in the paper just read, he begged to be allowed to say a word or two on a subject which had been alluded to by a previous speaker, although it did not form part of the paper. Namely: Why did houses of commerce in the City prefer, in many cases, German clerks to Englishmen? He believed the answer was obvious, viz., on account of the higher education obtainable in German Real- and other schools, where special attention was given to the study of modern languages. He hoped to see such schools soon established in this country. The author of the paper considered it desirable that the different faculties of a University should be united by a common bond, which was not to be met with in the existing institutions. Whilst he agreed with the suggestion, he would say that he considered the most essential features of a University to be: freedom of research, and freedom of expression as to the results of research. The meeting would know that this had not always been granted to Universities. Under Napoleon III. French professors were often interfered with. In Germany, "die Freiheit der Wissenschaft" had on the whole been left undisturbed. Whatever the political and religious tendencies at times might have been, die *Lehrfreiheit*,

except in some cases, had been there respected. The paper gave us details as to the number of professors, the number of students, &c. ; and as in several cases comparisons were made with German Universities, it might be interesting to state the number of professors in one of the leading German Universities. Take the University of Berlin, as best known to the speaker. There were eighteen professors : Professoren, Ausserordentliche Professoren, Privatdocenten (Lectoren, &c.), in the Faculty of Theology ; that of Law had about 28 ; in the Medical Department there were about 99 ; and in the Philosophical Faculty about 126. There were a few points in the paper about which more information might be desirable, and he therefore, in conclusion, begged to be allowed to ask Prof. Darmesteter to be good enough to say something concerning the relationship which existed under Napoleon III., and also at the present moment, between the Theological Faculties of the French Universities and the Church and the State ; and also kindly to explain the manner in which University professors were appointed and promoted to higher posts.

Professor DARMESTETER replied in French to the questions put by Dr. Heinemann. He said that the teaching of theology was undertaken in France by the Faculties of Theology (Catholic and Protestant) and was strictly under the direction of the religious authorities ; the State had nothing to do with it. As to the other subjects, the teaching was absolutely free, and the masters were independent. A professor of literature or science in the Faculties or in the great establishments of higher education (Collège de France, École des Hautes Études, Museum, &c.) was free to teach as he pleased, to the great advantage of the students and of science. The Government required of him one thing only—to do his duty. Since France had recovered her liberty, a liberty worthy of a Republican Government prevailed in her higher education, and the men who were members of that section of education often ruled its destinies and ensured its progress through the

“Conseil Supérieur de l’Instruction Publique,” or the learned societies, such as the “Société de l’Enseignement Supérieur.”

Lord REAY could not allow the discussion to close without saying a few words upon the extreme importance of the very able paper and the valuable remarks of Prof. Darmesteter upon the subject. Some of the remarks which had been made compelled him to say that the teaching of all Universities in every part of the world ought to make the feelings of one nation for another much more friendly than they were in times gone by. In this Conference—after hearing Frenchmen speak in the most eugolistic terms of German institutions, and after hearing Germans speak so highly of French institutions—he thought they had much better dismiss at once all other comments. In France, Prof. Darmesteter had explained to them that the necessity of creating an *École des Sciences Politiques* had been fully recognised. On the other hand, the *Collège de France* was being separated from the life of the Universities, as representing the highest intellectual standard, and this led to anomalous results. M. Darmesteter showed that when the students attended lectures of an inferior description, they passed their examination, but when they attended those which were really superior, the same result could not be attained. That circumstance corroborated the thesis of the necessity for centralising in the University all the best forces, that the University might supply all the wants either of research or of professional training. He would, for instance, be very sorry to see Professor Huxley in France giving lectures in the *Collège de France*, and not being a Professor in one of the *Académies*. From M. Dumont’s paper and from what Professor Darmesteter had said, he thought they might take this lesson, that in London they ought to unite their scattered intellectual forces. The higher education of London should be centralised. They should open the door as widely as possible to all good lecturers. Professor Darmesteter’s observation with regard to the necessity for making young

men feel that they belonged to one great corporation was most true. The great defect in London at this moment was that there was no corporate feeling among the promising young men who attended the various lectures. At this moment, in the University of Edinburgh, the undergraduates had felt the necessity of creating a corporate union, and they were therefore removing the deficiency indicated by M. Darmesteter. He was glad the Conference had converted so great an authority in these matters as Dr. Crombie, who as recently as last Monday considered the much-desired University of London a chimera, but who now saw this dream realised. Another point to be noticed was the liberality of the French and German Governments for the purpose of higher education and research, and this he should really like to bring under the notice of the Government with reference to the Scottish Universities. The London University would require some money—not to raise palaces, but humble abodes. They had all, he was sure, felt much pleasure in listening to the paper of so great an authority as M. Dumont.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir George Young) was glad Lord Reay was present to sum up the discussion which had taken place to a great extent in a language which was not their own. As he would have to read a paper to-morrow he would not now offer many remarks, but he might say that he was now engaged officially in work connected with education. He was working upon a Charity Commission connected with the reorganisation of old Grammar Schools throughout the country which had been endowed out of old foundations, but which had lapsed by time. He was not going to say anything specially about that, but with reference to what had been just said by Lord Reay as to the absolute necessity of a Government endowment or of Government aid for higher education, he would be glad if it were taken to heart much more than it seemed to be by those interested in the subject of education, that there was no chance of that aid being obtained out of the ancient endowments. The ancient charitable endowments in this country were only to a small

degree given for the purpose of higher education, and it could not be hoped, he was afraid, that any practical result in that way could be arrived at under our present legislature. He did not mean to say but that a great deal of good was being effected in this direction, and he trusted that a great deal would be effected in the way of utilising those endowments in the future. The tendency was to utilise those ancient endowments for a higher education than that for which they were now employed, but it was no use waiting for the Charitable Endowments of this country, if they wanted to have a worthy system for the highest instruction. He thought he was expressing the general feeling of the meeting in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to M. Dumont for his paper, and to M. Darmesteter and Dr. Crombie for their valuable remarks upon it.

THE TRAINING BY UNIVERSITIES OF THE PUBLIC SERVANTS OF THE STATE.

By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A.,

Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

THE question which I desire the Conference to consider is, whether the time has not come when the Government of this country might profitably ask the Universities to train and to examine those who are intended for careers in its public service. The Universities do much of this kind of work already. Besides the duty of maintaining a high standard of learning and of research the Universities found a large portion of their claims to public gratitude on their training of clergymen, of lawyers and of doctors. But the chief branches of the public service, diplomacy, the foreign office, the Indian civil service, the home civil service cannot be said to be directly educated for their functions by any course of University teaching. The members of these

services are selected either by open or close examination, they are prepared for these examinations by private enterprise, and are selected by the Civil Service Commissioners. This was not always the case even in this country, and it never has been the case among the most advanced nations of the Continent. When the high officials of the State were clergymen they naturally received their education in the Universities. After the Reformation it was not uncommon for men holding high rank in the Universities to be employed in public affairs, and a young aspirant of Queen Elizabeth's age would seek his education at Oxford or Cambridge as well as at Bologna or Padua. But it was on the Continent that the training for public life received a definite shape. The University of Göttingen in Germany, and that of Strasburg in France, sent out for many years a number of men trained in political and constitutional history, in public law, in the history of diplomacy. It is strange that Göttingen, so closely connected with the English crown, should have exerted so little influence in this respect upon ourselves. It is probably due to the fact that under the early Hanoverian kings, the government of England was almost entirely in the hands of privileged classes or families. At the same time the members of these families were conscious of their high calling, and prepared themselves carefully by study at home and travel abroad for the duties they had to fulfil. Pütter, who dedicated his history of the German empire to George III., and his account of the German Imperial constitution to Queen Charlotte, was the chief light of the Göttingen school, while Koch and Schöll, the authors of the best history of treaties extant, were professors at Strasburg.

There have indeed been attempts to secure this kind of education in England. One of the uses to which it was intended the confiscated property of the monasteries should be put in the reign of Henry VIII., was the foundation of a college for training public servants. The students were to be taught general history, modern languages, and the history of diplomacy. This, like many other excellent

schemes, was postponed, at the desire of the king, to enrich his favourites. An effort in the same direction was made by George I., in the foundation of the two Regius chairs of modern history and modern languages at Oxford and Cambridge. The letter conveying this gift to the University of Cambridge is dated May 16, 1724. It states that the reason of the foundation is to enable the universities to send forth constant supplies of learned and able men to serve the public in church and state. The King has observed that no encouragement or provision has hitherto been made in either of the universities for the study of modern history or modern languages, the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards completely qualifying the youth committed to their care for the situations in church and state to which they may be called. He has seen with pain that persons of foreign nations are often employed in the education and tuition of youths both at home and in their travels, and that great numbers of the young nobility and gentry are either sent abroad directly from school, or taken away from the universities before the course of their studies can be there completed, and that opportunities are frequently lost to the crown of employing and encouraging members of the two universities, by conferring on them such employments both at home and abroad as necessarily require a competent skill in writing and speaking the foreign languages. His Majesty therefore appoints one professor at each university, who is to maintain two persons at least, who are to instruct gratis in the modern languages twenty scholars, to be nominated by the King. The professors and teachers are to transmit once every year an attested account of the progress made by each scholar committed to their care to the principal secretaries of state, to be laid before the King, that he may encourage the diligence and application of such amongst them as shall have qualified themselves for the King's service by giving them suitable employments either at home or abroad as occasion may offer.

The senate of the university in thanking the King for

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his munificent present, tell him that they have observed for many years with grief that foreign tutors have had so large a share in the education of English youth of quality, both at home and in their travels, and that they feel sure that the two universities thus refined and made more completely serviceable to the education of youth by the King's most judicious and well-directed, as well as liberal benefaction, will be able to furnish the King with a constant supply of persons every way qualified for the management of such weighty affairs and negotiations as his majesty's occasion may require. Professor Goldwin Smith tells us that a knowledge of treaties is mentioned in the letters patent of foundation as specially necessary for the public interest, and that International Law, Political Economy, and the method of reading Modern History and Political Biography were afterwards added as subjects for the professor's lectures. He says that this was an enlightened and far sighted scheme, a scheme which, if it had taken effect, might have filled the Parliament and the public service of the last century with highly-trained legislators and statesmen, and perhaps have torn some dark and disastrous pages from our history. These provisions seem never to have taken effect. Perhaps the noblemen and fellow-commoners for whom the instruction was provided did not care to receive it. It was not until the professorship was held by Symonds and Smyth that it began to exert any influence upon university studies.

Although the attempts to train students for the public service have failed in England we have record of a more successful effort in Scotland. At the beginning of this century the University of Edinburgh contained a number of distinguished professors, and one of them, Dugald Stewart, possessed a personal influence far stronger than that which he has transmitted by his writings. It became the custom for a number of young men who were destined for public life to seek in the University of Edinburgh the liberal instruction which they could not find at Oxford or at Cambridge, and Dugald Stewart's house was open to receive

them. This knot of eager students, among whom were Lord Brougham, Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, first founded the *Edinburgh Review*, and then established that modification of the whig party which earned its most signal triumph in the Reform Bill of 1832.

Why should we not again attempt, under happier auspices, what has hitherto failed of its accomplishment? Our civil servants at present receive such specific instruction as is given them by private tutors at home or abroad. They are examined as to their proficiency by the Civil Service Commissioners. Both these functions of teaching and of examining would be performed better by the university, which ought to possess the authority of an expert in these matters. We need not enter into the vexed question of crammers versus public schools. If we allow the highest rank that is claimed for the instruction of Mr. Wren and Mr. Scoones, it cannot be pretended that it is equal to the best university instruction. Let the assistants of these gentlemen be men of first-rate academical distinction, they are not superior or equal to the professors, the university and intercollegiate lecturers to whom the instruction of undergraduates is committed. There was a time when the curriculum of the university did not supply the education necessary for all branches of the public service. That reproach has been removed. To speak of Cambridge alone, the old mathematical and classical courses have been supplemented by the Modern History Tripos, an amended Law Tripos, the Modern Language Tripos, and for the especial benefit of Indian Civil Service students the two Triposes of the Indian and Semitic Languages. A diplomatist could not have a better training than the course included in the Modern History and Modern Language Triposes. The History and Law Triposes, or one of the two Eastern language examinations, would do for the Indian Civil Service what used to be done for it at Haileybury. If necessary, the state might request the university to make a special examination for those destined to its service, by combining parts of different examinations.

It may be said that the experiment of using the university for the education of civil servants is being tried to some extent by the residence of selected Indian civil servants at one of the two universities. I do not know if the experiment is considered a success by the authorities of the India Office, but it certainly does not receive a fair chance. The lines of reading laid down by the Civil Service Commissioners for these students are so narrow and cramping, that those who follow them are excluded from the main stream of university life. In scarcely any instance do they attend the same lectures as other undergraduates. Consequently they have, as a body, made no mark on the colleges to which they have attached themselves, or on the university at large. With a few notable exceptions, they have not been distinguished intellectually or socially, they have gained no scholarships or prizes, and have taken no permanent share in those departments of public undergraduate life which have so often given the most valuable part of their training to English statesmen. Yet everything which it can be desirable that an Indian civil servant should learn, is taught in an English university at the present time.

If the universities are capable of giving the instruction required by our civil servants better than private tutors can, they can certainly conduct the higher examinations better than the Civil Service Commission. This, as a department of Government, is bound by strict conditions. Its object is in the first instance to frustrate the arts of the crammer, in the second to prevent any possible personal bias on the part of the examiner. For this purpose the examiners are frequently changed and pains are taken to conceal their identity. Papers are sent to the examiners without the names of their writers, they are marked according to a given standard, there is no communication between one examiner and another. The marks thus obtained are added up, and the result is decided by the number of marks gained, modified by the impressions of a *vivâ voce* examination conducted by a different examiner to him who sets

the papers. This system may be the best which the Civil Service Commissioners are able to adopt for the awarding of such valuable prizes as appointments in the Indian Civil Service. But it is far inferior to the method by which scholarships are given away at a prominent college. In the latter case the examiners are the same, or nearly the same, from year to year. Eager as is the competition for a Balliol scholarship, no schoolmaster supposes that he can train a pupil for it by carefully consulting the idiosyncrasies of particular examiners. The intrinsic excellence of the examination is sufficient of itself to defeat the devices of the private tutors. The examiners meet to distribute the work of setting papers, and the papers when set are submitted to the judgment of the whole body, so that each examiner is responsible for each part of the examination, so far as his knowledge of the subject extends. When the papers are done, each examiner first looks over the one he has sent. At the first meeting of examiners those candidates are eliminated who have obviously no chance, and the papers of the rest are submitted to a more searching ordeal. Every composition paper is looked over by at least three examiners, often by the whole body; and everyone who has been accustomed to examine, knows how widely opinions will differ as to the value of composition in the dead languages. Every translation paper is looked over by at least two examiners, in order that the personal prejudices of the setter of the paper may not have too much weight. The examination includes an English essay, which is very carefully estimated, not so much as a piece of English composition, as an evidence of power of original thought and literary arrangement. At Oxford great weight is justly attached to the essay. A Balliol scholarship has sometimes been awarded to a brilliant essay, and a bad essay has corrected the estimate which might have been formed on the mere results of mechanical acquisition. When these processes have been gone through, marks may be added up, but the final list is the result of voting according to the conscience of each examiner. By this time every candidate who

undergoes the examination has become a personality to the examiners—the strong and weak qualities of his mind are laid bare, and the difference of opinion which may have existed at first are harmonised by frequent conversation and discussion. Scholarships and exhibitions are awarded on the whole results of this elaborate process, and the decision thus given commands the respect of the educational world. The rough and ready measures of the Civil Service Commissioners may be equally efficacious, but if it is so, the originators of the more elaborate plan in use at the universities are guilty of having caused us a terrible waste of time.

I hope I have said enough to show that the universities can teach and examine for the service of the State better than the bodies to whom these functions are at present intrusted. But I shall be asked what practical plan can you suggest for utilising the universities? How will you meet public opinion? Public opinion demands a free and open competition for the public service. How will you defend a less rigid system than that at present adopted, from the charge of favouritism and jobbery? In the first place, I do not think so badly of public opinion. I believe that if a number of educational experts, free from political and party bias, were to declare that the present system of open competition were thoroughly bad, that it did not succeed in selecting the best men for the posts, and that it gave them an inferior education, public opinion would listen to these experts, just as it listened to the advice of Lord Macaulay in establishing these examinations. But we may proceed with gradual modifications without abolishing the present system. With two classes of the civil servants I have mentioned, there is little or no difficulty. Diplomatic and Foreign Office appointments are not open to public competition, they are awarded by limited competition after nomination. It would then be perfectly easy for the dispensers of this patronage to require their nominees to pass certain specified examinations at the university

before they received their appointments. To confine ourselves to the University of Cambridge, if the Modern History and Modern Language Triposes are regarded as the best training for this kind of appointments, it might be exacted that each nominee should obtain a double second, or a first class in one tripos and third in the other. If it was desired that weight should be attached to the older studies, a class in the Mathematical or Classical Triposes might be combined with a composite examination consisting of selected papers from the Modern History and Modern Language Tripos. These matters of detail could easily be arranged. It would be an advantage in the plan, that a certain minimum standard of inefficiency would be exacted. At present when three nominees are competing for a single place the standard is apt to vary very greatly, and a good candidate may be excluded while a weak one is admitted. This experiment could be tried at once if the Foreign Office authorities would confer with the universities upon the subject.

The problem is more difficult when, as in the Indian and the Home Civil Service, the appointments are thrown open to unrestricted competition. If the principle of open competition be maintained, there are two ways of meeting the difficulty. Either hold an open competition at an early age, selecting a large number of candidates, and make a final choice of these candidates for appointments as the result of proficiency in certain defined university examinations. Or, put the age selection some years later than at present, and assign a numerical value to certain selected university distinctions which a candidate may have gained. Or, again, in the case of the Indian Civil Service, divide the public competition into two parts, and let the attainments of certain specified university honours be accepted in lieu of one of these parts. Any of these plans would secure the great object I have advocated, that is, the university training of the higher civil servants.

Others can speak with better authority than myself of the necessity of securing highly trained men for these

important situations. The civil service of India is weighted with a load of duty equal to any which has ever been laid on the shoulders of a similar body of men. Our diplomatic service, our Foreign Office, has need of the best educated and the acutest minds to understand and control the forces of the age. If the centre of gravity of politics has shifted from the rivalries and struggles of individuals to the conflict of more massive powers, the new problems thus engendered require greater skill and knowledge for their just solution. The need of such a training is felt in other countries. Democratic France has founded and fostered *l'École des Sciences Politiques*,* served by her best intellects, whose pupils are sought after as the best props of the public service. Democratic America has established at Columbia College, and in other educational centres, schools of political science with the same object. Political science, and the historical groundwork of government and diplomacy, are taught in every German university. Let England follow these examples. Let the state recognise that our reformed universities have done their best to move with the spirit of an enlightened age, to educate, not for the church alone, but for the state also; let it cast aside the timidity of tradition, and the dread of a public opinion which is generally honest even if it be not subtle, and by occupying the field which has been prepared for it, secure for the public service a class of public men who, if they have not had the benefit of inherited aptitude and of class tradition, have at least imbibed the best results of modern science, and the truer patriotism which is based upon common devotion to a common country.

* See Appendix, p. 409.

Mr. JAMES A. CAMPBELL, M.P., took the chair, vice
Sir GEORGE YOUNG, Bart.

DISCUSSION.

Professor BONET-MAURY, of the University of France, referring to the passing mention just made by Mr. Oscar Browning, of the School of Political Science of Paris, recalled the efforts made in France for the last forty years to secure to future statesmen and State officials a preparatory training. The Republic of 1848 had established an "École d'Administration" which all candidates to higher posts in the civil service were compelled to enter. That school had been suppressed by the Empire. Towards 1873-4 the "École des Sciences Politiques" had been organised through the initiative of a group of statesmen and professors, such as Laboulaye, Taine, Frédéric Passy, Léon Say, &c. Keeping studiously aloof from all parties, its object was to acquaint its students, in the course of three years, with all the branches of public and international law, administration, and diplomacy. At the end of each year the managing committee granted diplomas, which, although they had no official character, were highly valued by the heads of departments in the various Government offices. This school had particularly prospered under the able and prudent direction of M. E. Boutmy, Member of the Institute, and was attended by some hundred students, a small number of whom were foreigners. Thanks to the liberal provisions of the will of the Duchess de Galliera, the school was enabled two years ago to escape State supervision, and to preserve an independent status.

Mr. TAYLOR, of the High School, Philadelphia, called attention to the statement in Mr. Oscar Browning's paper, that, "If the centre of gravity of politics has shifted from the rivalries and struggles of individuals to the conflict of more massive powers, the new problems

thus engendered require greater skill and knowledge for their just solution." It seemed to him that that was precisely the point of importance to be considered in training students for the State service, and in the examination of those students upon their fitness for serving the State. In America they were trying to advance a little in this matter of Civil Service Reform. They did not wait there to get an Act of Parliament or a charter ; they went at it right away, and did it in the best rough and ready way they could. If they wanted money they persuaded some very rich man—there were a few of them in the States—to give them, say—\$7,000,000. John Hopkins founded a university himself. They paid there nothing whatever for a charter ; it did not cost 25 cents., whereas in England he was told it would cost for red tape and other necessary expenses a great deal of money. If he was mistaken in that he would like to be corrected.

Sir GEORGE YOUNG said that obtaining a charter was not a very expensive business, but there were other ways in which institutions were founded in this country, and one of them was through the medium of the Charity Commissioners, when it would cost nothing at all.

Mr. TAYLOR had been told that to get a charter for an English railway, for instance, would cost \$100,000. In their colleges thus founded they simply tried to get the best men. They did not spend money on buildings. This London University was in his humble judgment, perhaps, much nearer than anybody in the meeting possibly believed. They paid very little for buildings in America, and the main business was to get the men ; they did not care much where the men came from if they could be got, whether from Oxford or Cambridge, or whether they had to be sent for to Berlin. They preferred that their universities should be built up of brains rather than bricks. Then, as regards training for the political service : in the beginning they were so far off in the back woods that they had not any trouble with diplomacy except in founding the Republic, and they therefore did not care much at

that time whether a man knew very much about international law or not. They simply sent their best literary men, like Washington Irving, Lowell, Motley, Bancroft, and Taylor. All those men had to do they did well, because they were already ambassadors to the people they were sent to—they were well known before they came. Benjamin Franklin was a good one, and he was Minister Plenipotentiary, as they call it, where he had made his name loved and honoured, that was to say in France, before he was sent there. But they now had to prepare their men for the larger forces now existing, as England, Russia, France, and Germany prepared their diplomatists, and they were doing that work now in their colleges, not only in Columbia College, but in the University of Pennsylvania, his own university, where they had a school of finances founded by entirely private endowment, which would occupy a very high rank in the history of education in America. Then, in the preparation for examination for the naval school of the country, or of the great military school at West Point, they managed in this way. Each Member of Congress had a right at a certain time to send a student to be prepared for the naval or military service. The Member of Congress sent his students to the High School, say of Philadelphia, for the faculty to examine, and they chose and selected the best and highest skilled students after careful examination. They were the boys selected for the Naval and Military Academies. Here in England a good many of these problems would be helped to be solved by the creation of a University of London. The Americans wanted to come to London to study. In the old time their medical men went to Edinburgh, and when they came back they founded the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. Then their literary men went to Oxford and Cambridge, but the number was exceedingly limited. And why? It was not necessary for him to go into details to show why, but let England found a University in London, and they would soon have hundreds of American students coming

here to study, because that would in fact be the University for the English-speaking peoples. The lectures of the men who would be collected into one great institution of that kind would not only attract hundreds of students from America, but would attract them from all the countries of the globe.

Sir GEORGE YOUNG said there were some points on which he differed from the author of the paper, and, therefore, before commencing what he proposed more especially to say, he wished to express his very strong sympathy with what the author, no doubt, regarded as the most important part of his paper. That gentleman desired that the universities should train directly for the service of the State, and so far he was with him, and he should be very sorry that it should be supposed for a moment that he was antagonistic to him in that respect. But there were some things which had been said about the special work done by the Civil Service Commissioners with which he could not altogether agree. With regard to the light in which that system had been represented in the paper, he thought that where a struggling institution was concerned, it should not go out to England from such a conference as this that the educationists of England should be held up as having condemned the system of education and examination for the Civil Service of the country. The work which the Civil Service examinations were intended to perform was the extinction of jobbery and patronage in the appointments for the service of the State. That work they had done to a very great extent, and our American friends would find a good deal in it from which they might derive useful experience in following out the line which they had now entered upon. The public Civil Service examinations included a great number of branches, and dealt with a great many grades of education. By far the greater number of those who passed the Civil Service examinations were clerks; they belonged to the lower branches of the Civil Service, and he would limit his criticism to the part of the paper which referred to the higher education.

Mr. OSCAR BROWNING had intended to confine his remarks entirely to the very highest appointments, and he did not wish at all to attack the Civil Service examinations.

Sir GEORGE YOUNG said the impression conveyed to his mind by Mr. Browning's remarks, certainly was that the Civil Service examinations were bad in every way, but even if that was not what was intended to be stated, he wanted to express his dissent from that. He could not agree with the system by which expensive Boards should be appointed to test simply which of two gentlemen should be selected to sit at a desk in a public office. By far the greater number of appointments were not appointments in the higher but in the lower branches, and when they came to examine the standard with which they had to deal, they would find it was not very high, for example, in the examinations for the army. It was not desirable that the men who entered the army as ensigns should be men trained to pass a very high standard of examination, and a rough and ready mode of examination was quite sufficient to decide whether, as between the 400 or 500 candidates annually rejected, the 200 or 300 annually selected were on the whole suitable men to serve the State.

And so with appointments in most instances in the Civil Service. Then the examinations for appointments in such offices as the Colonial Office, the India Office, and the Treasury, and for the Civil Service of India, stood on a different footing. There a great deal more concert between examinations was required, and he thought those examinations might be very much improved. The real reason why they had not been so improved, and the reason why those examinations were not conducted according to the best system of examination in this country, was owing to the fact that the country was not prepared to give a sufficient sum for the payment of proficient examiners. Up to the present time the country had not provided that a sufficient sum of money should be devoted for that purpose. Those examiners were, however, very efficient for their

purpose. What Mr. Browning had told them as to the examinations of the Universities being sufficient in themselves, might be said with equal justice of the Civil Service examinations, a great deal of argument had gone on about the subject mentioned in the paper, to which attention had been called by Mr. Taylor, and it had been the subject of controversy from time to time in the newspapers, but it was not founded on accurate knowledge. He did not approve of the system of cramming; he saw great faults in it, but from having paid great attention to the subject for several years, he was able to say that our students were thoroughly well trained, and that was the reason why they passed, not because they were crammed for the examinations. What was given by the tutors was good personal instruction, but not, perhaps, a first rate education. With regard to the selection of Indian civil servants it was well known that the Government had taken steps in that direction. He was sorry that Mr. Browning had not given some credit to those who had the management of our affairs in that respect, for the step taken was a perilous one, and it had been very much opposed. Still, it had been carried out with very good results. It was better for us that we should be told of our faults, than that we should have our exploits referred to, and he was bound to admit that there was some force in the statement that the Indian graduate had not greatly distinguished himself. But there was one thing which should be taken to heart by such men as Mr. Oscar Browning, who had a great influence on the system which obtained at the Universities, and it was to them that his remarks were specially directed. The Civil Service candidates who were selected for the Civil Service in India, and who went up to Cambridge and Oxford, had been selected out of a large field upon the results of their school education, as having been well trained, and as having been able to show in an admirable examination that they were possessed of very high attainments. Having seen them year after year, he believed them to represent a very high

standard of culture, and their employment had produced good effects in India, but it was true that upon going to the Universities they made no mark there, and did not seem to profit by the other studies at the Universities as the other students did, but that was the fault of the Universities; then these men were specialists too; they were undergoing a technical training for a special service, and what the University of Oxford and the University of Cambridge should do, would be to give them the training which was wanted for the requirements of the Public Service from members of the Indian Civil Service. One most important branch of the training of a civil servant, and he spoke from personal contact with men who had gone to India, was the constant attendance that was required of them in watching the cases in the Law Courts, a branch of training that was very serviceable to them afterwards, because they were often required to perform the work of magistrates. That was a branch of training that was not provided for by Universities, nor was it desirable that it should be so. For that reason he had always thought that London was the proper place for the special education of the students for the Indian Civil Service to be conducted in. On that point he would agree with the remarks of Mr. Taylor, that London was an important place for Americans also. All our students at the Universities were obliged to learn Greek, but those for the Indian Civil Service were not, and whether Oxford or Cambridge were prepared to relax their rigid and somewhat evil rules in this respect, was a problem for themselves to answer. He merely wished to point out that there were modifications required at Oxford and Cambridge before these men would find themselves at home there. With regard to the general effect of the Civil Service examinations, he found them to be good. It was not necessary, he believed it was not possible in all cases, that they should get the best men by public examination. No one knew that better than the examiners, but he believed it was possible to eliminate from the candidates

by that means all bad and stupid men, all men who would disgrace the public service of the country. It was this work which had been entrusted to the Civil Service Commissioners to do, and that was the work they were carrying out with great ability. He desired, therefore, that some word of sympathy should go out for them from this Conference against the vulgar, untrue, and stupid attacks which were made upon them, and he felt sure that the useful criticism which Mr. Oscar Browning had passed upon them would not be thought unkind.

Mr. ROBERT CUST must directly oppose all that Professor Oscar Browning had stated in his paper. That paper distinctly stated that Oxford and Cambridge should be the Universities to hold the examinations for the Civil Service, but what would the country say to everything being handed over to those bodies? The public had entire confidence in the Civil Service Commissions, who had to do and had done a noble work, and they did not want anything better than what that system supplied. Then, Mr. Browning had apparently forgotten that the appointments to the Indian Civil Service were unlike the Baliol Fellowships and Cambridge Tripos, which were comparatively few in number and small in value; but in the Indian Civil Service the appointments were of great value and were held for life. The British public would never be satisfied to hand over such appointments as those, appointments of high dignity and profit, to the Universities. He said that frankly; he had no hesitation in saying that the public would not feel confidence that the right men were chosen, or that that entire independence had been shown in their selection which the Civil Service Examinations supplied. He could not see the advantage of such a course, because the Universities would become mere places for training public servants; the Universities were founded for higher objects, and it would be merely a kind of degradation to a University to have to supply candidates for the Public Service. The crammers, he thought, had been rather unjustly attacked. They were the Prophets, who had risen

up to supply the shortcomings of the Priests. Why did they come into existence at all? If the Universities and Schools had done their work there would be no occasion for them, and crammers simply existed because Eton and Harrow and other schools did not supply the proper education to their scholars. He felt bound, therefore, to entirely controvert and oppose the statement which had been put forward.

Mr. SONNENSCHNIGER remarked that Sir George Young had told them the examinations by the Civil Service Commissioners tested the training, but he, for one, would be glad to be informed how that could possibly be done by an examination. The examination could only test results ; it could not in any way investigate the process by which those results had been attained. Anyone who was really an earnest student of any branch of human learning, would know that processes were worth more than results, and how the Commissioners were to investigate those processes he failed to understand. He had been an examiner himself, in a small way, and he never had been able to get at the processes ; he could only find out whether the student could answer the questions put to him. It had been pointed out that if the schools did their duty, the so-called crammers would be out of place. Probably so, but that did not show that the crammer did really good work. It would be well if, from such an Assembly as this, which was at all events earnest on the subject of higher education, a proper definition of what cramming meant should go forth. On that point the public were wholly ignorant. He had the honour a few weeks ago to talk to one of the highest official authorities on education in England, who told him that our great difficulty lay in the fact that there was a low ideal of education dominant in the country, and that when we got a higher ideal we should be able to do higher work. He did not feel quite at liberty to say all that was in his mind about that higher ideal, but the necessary impetus should come from the Education Department, and from the public servants, who must set up before the authorities that

higher ideal, and then they would be able to act up to it. He had often found that from our public schools (though, no doubt, there were exceptions) students turned out to be brilliant cricketers rather than brilliant classics ; but when a lad came to the age of nineteen his father wished him to do something for himself, and cricket would not maintain him, so he was sent to a cramming-school, where the terms were exceedingly high, and the crammer was required to cram into two years all that was required for the lad to pass his examinations. What was it the crammer did? The good teacher is wisely discursive, so as to give the student a rich association of ideas, but with the crammer it was simply a question of mnemonics, or how to anticipate the examination questions, to anticipate the minimum amount of study necessary from the idiosyncrasy of the student before him, and how to enable him to give the necessary answers. He had actually seen a student, who had passed his mathematical examination well, selling his mathematical books the next day. He would ask persons acquainted with these matters whether that was not true, and whether that could be the result of any true teaching. That, of course, was a thing which they desired no longer to see. He begged to refer them to a book published long ago by Emerson, "English Traits," in which Emerson spoke of us, and said we were tied and bolted to results. So he might say by these examinations on results, we were simply examination-ridden, and all those who were bound to cramming were endeavouring to substitute results for processes, and payment in every department was payment by results, from the lowest up to the highest University teaching.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN said that as to the main issue of Mr. Browning's very valuable paper he perfectly agreed with him, understanding him to say that it was desirable that the civil servants of the highest grade should have the highest possible education. There were a few points to which he would like to refer. Having had the honour of acting on several occasions as an Examiner in German to the Civil

Service Commssion, etc., he might take this opportunity of dispelling some utterly erroneous notions which he heard expressed at the meeting. Much having been said about cramming—which he detested—he would ask as to whether it was possible to cram—say—a language like German? The examiner, in preparing the translation-papers, had the whole literature of Germany to choose from. Where was the student who had read all the books from which the examiner might select his passages? As to *viva-voce* examinations, the examiner, who had never seen the examinee before, may converse with him in German on any and every subject. Where, he asked again, was the danger that such an examination, carried on in the manner described, would encourage cram? Such an idea was a mere prejudice—a preconceived notion.

New readerships for modern languages had lately been established in Cambridge. Mr. Browning said students could now get at the University, if they so wished, an education which, with reference to the knowledge of modern languages, would enable them to become, for example, diplomatists. The readerships for modern languages were, however, established with the view of imparting a literary and not a colloquial knowledge of French and German. Having read the regulations concerning these readerships, he felt justified in making the statement.

The meeting, he was inclined to believe, would, therefore, agree with him, when he said that as matters stood at the present moment, a colloquial knowledge of modern languages did not form an item in the University curriculum. He knew very well that some of the authorities objected at first to modern languages being at all taught there; and he believed Mr. Browning deserved the thanks of the meeting, for having assisted in removing such objections.

Mr. STORR would venture to throw down a challenge to Mr. Browning by denying *in toto* his first sentence, that it was the duty of Universities to train and examine those who were intended for careers in the Public Service. He

held that the Universities had nothing to do with training for the public service any more than they had with training men to become soldiers or sailors. They might train, it was true, clergymen, doctors and lawyers, that was to say, they might give education in the sciences on the application of which those respective professions rested. The Universities had in that respect already made a false departure. They had done a very great good by establishing their Local Examinations, but he thought it was a wrong departure for them to examine shoals of boys without having the least notion of how they had been trained. He thought that an examination for small boys like those, which was conducted entirely on paper without any *viva voce* examination, was a bad examination.

The Rev. Dr. DAWES did not consider that the Universities were in a position to train for the public service, because with regard to Indian law and the Indian languages, the University had not the means of teaching. These things were not provided at Cambridge, though at Oxford they were beginning to be so. He had suggested ten years ago that a school of that kind should be established in Oxford, and that they should get men from India to teach there—natives from the provinces—so that men going out to India could learn the languages from them. At that time such things were not provided in the Universities; but he thought that in a University there should be a certain focus or centre where such men could get the higher education, and not be compelled to search through London for tutors in order to qualify themselves for taking posts of great responsibility. He did not think that the Universities ought to be the examiners of our public servants. Those who were acquainted with the condition of things in Germany, knew very well there were examinations there for almost everything; but beyond that there was the "Staats Examen" for the men before they took different posts under Government. He would like to see a central Board of Examination constituted, whether in London or elsewhere, as an Examining Board for our

Universities; so that they might not be overpowered with examinations. They all knew that a great many of the Professors felt rather overpowered by the pressure of examinations. Then, with regard to the competition between the Universities, that was one reason why the "Staats Examen" should be instituted as in Germany, because there was always a feeling or desire to get the men; one institution wanted to pass as many men as another, and hence that competition as to who should examine. The State should provide a State examination, and that might be held in London or at any central point, but the examiners should be chosen quite independently from all Universities. He did not think the Universities at present did give to the candidates for the higher Civil Service that which was especially necessary for them, in the first place; and secondly, he considered that the majority of those men who were likely to inspire confidence in the examinations, had already too much work of the kind to do.

Lord REAY said this was really one of the most important subjects which had come before the Conference, but the discussion had been rather wandering away from the lines laid down by Mr. Oscar Browning. The first stage they had had to deal with was the stage of favouritism. The necessity of providing means for putting efficient and well-educated men into the Public Service was felt. Then the second stage was reached of the "Staats Examen" or the Civil Service Commissioners Examinations. That was to avoid an evil; it was simply a negative provision for excluding bad men; but the question whether by those means the best men were obtained was ably dealt with in the paper. They were not throwing stones, or intending to throw stones at the Civil Service Commissioners, who were doing their work admirably. He agreed entirely with Mr. Browning that—if at the University the best men came to the surface and the best training was given—it must be taken for granted that from the Universities the best men must

be got for the Civil Service. The fact was, that at this moment the best men in the Civil Service came from the Universities, as for example, Sir Robert Herbert, Sir Ralph Lingen, Sir T. Farrer, Mr. Godley and many others. He would go further and appeal to the experience of gentlemen present. He could speak from personal knowledge of one country in which the Civil Service was as good as the Civil Service of any country in the world, and that was Holland. In Holland there was no examination, but they invariably appointed, not only to the higher but to the lower branches of the Civil Service, the best men from the Universities. A Minister in Holland, when there was a vacancy in his department, tried to ascertain at the Universities who was the best man. Who was more fit to judge of the qualities of the men who were under him than a professor—the man who knew those who had been with him for several years at college, or the man who had seen only their examination papers? Therefore, without saying anything against the way in which the Civil Service Commissioners were doing their work, and without in the slightest degree advocating any return to a former system which was still more vicious, he was distinctly opposed to Mr. Storr's view, that it was not the duty of the University to train men for the Civil Service, and he thought that the sooner such a system was carried out, the better. The Scotch Universities especially, were peculiarly adapted to train pupils for the Public Service. He would also point out that in Germany the ranks of the Civil Service were recruited from the Universities. We must do all we can to make our Universities seminaries of public men, and to keep the Civil Service in the closest relation with the University. He had heard with great pleasure what had been said by Mr. Taylor about Americans coming to England, and if there was one thing to be wished for more than another, it was that the relations between American and English Universities should be friendly. Nothing could be more conducive to the attainment of that result than that young Americans should come to us, and there

would ere long be another exodus of young Englishmen from England to America.

The Rev. Professor CROMBIE, as a professor of a Scotch University, admitted that in Scotland they were not prepared at present to do the work proposed by Mr. Browning in his paper, and he therefore was speaking without bias on the matter, in saying that he heartily agreed with Mr. Browning's remarks. The question really was, were our future civil servants to be educated or were they to be crammed for examinations? Would any man, free from prejudice, say that in our great Universities the teaching was not calculated to produce the best educated men in literature and science, and did not merely serve the purpose of teaching a man to speak Gujarati, but to give him wide and statesmanlike views? Would any man say that that work would not be done infinitely better by a great University than by private teachers, however great their capacity might be. Every unprejudiced man would thank Mr. Browning for his wise and thoughtful paper on this subject.

Mr. BROWNING said it was impossible for him to answer all the objections which had been made, though many of them had nothing whatever to do with the subject of the paper. He was glad, however, to find that amongst the people who sympathised with the remarks contained in it, were two Frenchmen, a German, an American, and Lord Reay, though Mr. Cust and Mr. Storr had more confidence apparently in the system of examination by the Civil Service Commissioners. It would be sufficient for him to say, that had he held Mr. Storr's views on the subject, he should never have written the paper, and they differed so much that it was not worth while discussing their points of difference. He did not in the least intend to attack the general operation of the Civil Service Commissioners, and he quite admitted that they did nine-tenths of their work exceedingly well, but they conducted the higher examinations badly. He had been examiner twice for the Indian Civil Service; he examined

in history and did not know who his brother examiner was. He had at one time to set a special paper, and at another time a general paper ; there was no communication between the two examiners ; there was no arrangement, as far as he knew, that they should not cover the same ground, or as to the standard of marks they should adopt, or the standard of excellence they should require in the papers ; the papers were simply sent in and the marks added up. He might say they happily arrived at pretty much the same standard of results as to marks, but of course that was an accident. He did not believe at the present moment, and he was prepared to maintain it against anybody, that the present system of choosing candidates for the Indian Civil Service did result in the selection of the best men. On the contrary, men were chosen by it who ought not to be selected, and men were refused who ought to be appointed. He spoke from twenty-five years' experience as an examiner, and he would be glad to argue the point against anybody. With regard to the other matter which had been mentioned about the Civil Service, he really felt too strongly to speak about it at all at the present moment. He would merely say that the sending of the young Civil Service selected candidates to our Universities had given the best opportunity of judging what those men were. They did not attend the general course of instruction side by side with the other young men at the University. He had said before in his University, and he would venture to say it again, if they compared those selected men with the men who would get the appointments if they were given in a different way, the result was vastly disappointing, because men who were far superior had not, by the system of examinations, the chance of getting the appointments. He had stated in his paper that there was a time when the Cambridge University did not supply any teaching for candidates for the Public Service, but they had now done their best to supply this deficiency. He did not at all purpose to multiply examinations, or to throw a greater burden on the examiners at Cambridge. He proposed to

utilise the existing examiners, or still better, he would prefer, as Lord Reay had said, to have no examinations at all ; he would prefer that a minister should write to the professors and ask them to recommend somebody, and he would venture to say that no one would be likely to recommend any one to the disadvantage of the service. Any idea of favoritism, if such a course were pursued, would be done away with. His point of view was this ; his University had done its best by recent changes to meet what was required, and the next step must be taken by the State. He sincerely hoped that Lord Reay, who had great influence on the Government, might be induced by the aid of his friends at the Foreign Office, to take the first step which would lead to something being done to show that the Universities could be trusted to do the work, and to do it better than anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. J. A. Campbell) in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Browning for his paper, entirely agreed with what he understood to be its general scope, that as far as possible they ought to avail themselves of the Universities for preparing men for the Indian Civil Service. The great argument for doing so, was found in the fact that otherwise the examination itself was the guide, and that the mere coaching up for that examination was the highest point that was aimed at. Neither the coach nor the candidate aimed at anything higher, whereas if the pupil were attending the teaching in a University, he would have instruction that went further than any examination, and they would thereby get much better men for the Public Service.

The Section adjourned till 2 p m.

On resuming, the chair was taken by Professor HENRY MORLEY, LL.D.

THE DUTIES OF THE UNIVERSITIES TOWARDS OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

By Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, D.C.L., C.I.E.

WHAT are the duties of our Universities towards our Indian Empire? During the whole tenure of my office as Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, for nearly a quarter of a century, and during three sojourns in India and frequent travels through the length and breadth of that country, I have endeavoured to keep this question before my mind. It is a question of national importance; for if statistics prove that out of the total number of 903 members of the covenanted Civil Service, appointed from 1856 to 1879, at least 618 were University men, it follows that the great majority of the rulers of our Indian Empire are brought under the influence of our Universities, whilst almost all are indirectly subject to it; and it becomes obvious that the condition of India, for good or for evil, is certain to be greatly affected by the forces which are constantly operating at the great centres of education. It is a question, too, well worthy of attention at these conferences, which have for their object the promotion of the greatest amount of health and prosperity in every part of the British Empire.

Without attempting to go minutely into the subject, I shall confine myself to a brief statement of what we are doing for the good of India at Oxford, and of what I think we may still hope to effect there. I am not, however, so enamoured of the way in which the University of Oxford discharges its duties towards our Indian fellow-subjects, as not to desire suggestions from without. Nor shall I take up the time of those who have come here to discuss this question to-day, by submitting my own individual views in

more than a general way. And, to clear the ground, let me ask you to consider for a moment what our position in India really is. We are not there in the position of colonizers, as we are in other parts of the world—for instance in Australia, where the British settlers amount to two and a half millions, while the aboriginal occupants of the soil, who are rapidly becoming extinct, are probably not more than fifty thousand. Our position in India is very different from this. We are there as rulers and administrators, and as nothing more. I need not advert to the extraordinary circumstances—well known to every educated person—which forced our Indian Empire upon us. Our relation to the inhabitants of India is quite unprecedented in the history of the world. The only parallel is the occupation of Britain by the Romans; but in all probability, the population of ancient Britain in the time of the Cæsars did not exceed a million of semi-barbarians, who (though advancing in civilization under the Druids) were easily kept in subjection by three legions of disciplined Roman soldiers, distributed here and there in strongly fortified camps.

Contrast the present circumstances of India. The last census shows that the native population has risen to the enormous total of two hundred and fifty-four millions (the exact figures are 253,891,821), and is rapidly increasing; while scattered here and there, in little groups, or solitary units among these overwhelming masses—who are not without a cultured upper class, many of them enlightened men, the inheritors of an ancient civilisation, a highly elaborated classical language and an immense literature—nor indeed without some kind of indigenous military organisation, if account be taken of more than 300,000 fighting men belonging to the feudatory states—scattered, I say, among these countless millions, are the ruling class of at most one hundred and forty thousand Britons—civilians and military men all told—not one fifth of the native population of Bombay alone. Bear in mind, too, that this little band of

foreigners, separated from their own homes by six thousand miles of land and sea, differs diametrically from the host that surrounds them in colour, dress, customs, habits of thought, religious opinions. Furthermore, observe that of these one hundred and forty thousand men little more than nine hundred (members of the covenanted Civil Service of India) are the actual administrators of the government of the country—a country about equal in area to the area of Europe, if we take away Russia, Turkey, and Hungary ; Bengal alone being nearly equal to the whole of France, with twice its population. Conceive, by way of illustration, nine hundred carefully chosen scientific men dotted about in small ships over the surface of the Atlantic, and required by the application of elaborate chemical preparations—such as oil and other similar substances, the right use of which they had long studied—to control the movement of the waves, counteract the power of the winds, and maintain smooth water amid swelling tides and conflicting currents—such a conception is no doubt highly fanciful, but it may serve to give some idea of the sort of work our little band of British administrators have to perform, scattered as they are in isolated stations over the surging ocean of Indian life. When these men first arrive in India—perhaps at the age of little more than nineteen—they have to make up their minds whether to enter the judicial or executive branch of the administration—that is to say—whether they will become in process of time either Judges or Collectors. This term “Collector,” however, conveys a very inadequate idea of the duties that may devolve on a man of perhaps little over thirty, unless it be taken to mean that in him all the administrative functions of districts, often bigger than Yorkshire, are centred and comprehended. He not only collects the revenue, he has high magisterial and judicial powers. He superintends police, road-making, engineering, agriculture, municipal government, sanitation, education—every conceivable matter ; and the welfare of more than a million souls may depend to a great extent on his administrative energy and

ability. He does all this as plain magistrate and Collector, but he may rise in time to be Commissioner over several districts, Lieutenant-Governor of a province, Governor of a presidency, or even by a remote possibility Governor-General of all India.

Conceive, then, the importance of sending out such men, well-educated, according to the true sense of the term, well trained, physically, morally, and mentally, well developed in bodily constitution, well formed in character, well informed in mind, well instructed in Indian languages, law and history, carefully imbued with a respect for those they will have to govern, free from all tendency to self-conceit and arrogance of manner, capable of governing themselves that they may govern others, able to be firm, yet not overbearing, conciliatory, yet not weak, patterns of justice and morality, models of Christian truth, rectitude and integrity.

Where, and how, is such a perfect training to be imparted? Nowhere, indeed, I fear in its perfection. Nevertheless, better, in my opinion, at our Universities than elsewhere; for nowhere else is the whole man better drawn out into well-balanced proportions, better moulded into symmetry and shape; nowhere else is there the same wholesome attrition and collision between opposite characters; nowhere else the same healthy rivalry and conflict between minds of infinitely varying power and capacity.

How, then, are the future rulers of India to be brought under the wholesome and healthy influences of University life, yet left free agents to choose their own course of preparatory training? This is the problem. Let us see what actually happens under the present system.

To begin at the beginning:—The Indian Civil Service probationers are first selected from a large number of candidates between the ages of $17\frac{1}{2}$ and $19\frac{1}{2}$, at a competitive examination held in London every June, and those who are selected—generally about forty in number (this year thirty-eight)—are required to pass certain subsequent special examinations here in the Metropolis, and

to undergo two years of probationary discipline at one of our Universities, though—I regret to say—not necessarily to pass any University examination, or take their degrees, or carry away with them any kind of academical stamp.

If any probationer elects not to go to a University, then the allowance of £150 a year granted to him on that condition is forfeited. The selection of any one of the Universities, approved by the Secretary of State for India, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland—namely, Oxford, Cambridge, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, and Dublin—is left to the men themselves; but as a matter of fact, the majority—at present about two-thirds (or 53 out of about 78)—select Oxford, because, I apprehend, we are rich enough to offer them there more special facilities.

And here it may be asked, Why has the age of candidates for the Civil Service of India been so lowered that they are allowed to compete from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$, while the age of candidates for the Ceylon Civil Service is permitted to range from 21 to 24?

This is a very vexed question, upon which an immense number of civilians and Anglo-Indians of great experience have recorded their opinions in print, and the mind of native India is at this moment greatly agitated about the matter. The effect of the present arrangement is that mere lads, fresh from public schools, or from special crammers, are selected in the case of the Indian Service, while young men who have taken their degrees at the Universities are generally chosen in the case of the Ceylon Service. The complaint of the natives of India is, that the present regulations prejudice the prospects of their own candidates, who are unable to come to England to prepare for the competitive examinations at so early an age. (Two natives, however, have just been selected, and one of these stands at the head of the list.) My own opinion is, that if the present low limit of age is retained for the Indian Civil Service, every selected candidate should be required to reside for three years (instead of two) at a University. No option should be allowed, but every

one should be compelled to take his degree of B.A. at the end of that period.

Moreover, the Civil Service Commissioners might require the probationers to offer for the final University examinations certain Indian subjects—now admitted into the regular University curriculum—such as one Indian language, Indian History and Law. They might then accept the University degree in lieu of any further test of their own in London, except, perhaps, obliging the probationers to take notes of law cases and pass one special examination in Law and Political Economy before London examiners after obtaining their B.A. degree. At the same time, it seems to me, that the present necessity for attending the law-courts during term-time tends to demoralise and unsettle young men's minds, and neutralise the good effect of continuous University study. At the old East India College, Haileybury—where I was myself trained for the Indian Civil Service, and was afterwards Professor—it was considered quite sufficient if the probationers attended the Hertford Assizes and took notes of the cases; and I cannot see why the Oxford Assizes might not answer the same purpose for those educated at Oxford.

Let us suppose, then, the majority of the selected probationers for the Indian Civil Service established at some one of the eight approved Universities. What are the special facilities and opportunities of study that should be offered to these men? I can only tell you what we do for them at Oxford. First, we have provided for them readers in Indian law, political economy and history. Then we have a professor of Sanskrit with four Sanskrit scholarships, open to members of the University who are under twenty-five years of age, including, of course, natives of India. Then we have two professors of Arabic, and teachers of Persian, Hindūstānī, Hindī, Bengālī, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Telugu, and Tamil.

Then, we are about to open in the very centre of Oxford the first Indian Institute—yes, strange to say, the first institution ever yet founded with the direct object of

diffusing a better knowledge of India in the great country which rules India, and which possesses countless Institutes devoted to the promotion of every other conceivable purpose. And this Indian Institute, the constitution and government of which has just been settled by a statute passed by our University Convocation, is intended to act as a central meeting place and rallying point for the Indian probationers, where all their special lectures will be given and their instruction received, and where, I hope, a club-room and debating-room will be set apart for their use, and ample opportunities afforded them of gaining a personal knowledge of each other. This is the more important, because to collect all these men at one college, where they have no common work with the other students, and are therefore likely to form themselves into a separate clique, is rightly held to be unwise ; while, on the other hand, it is equally objectionable so to distribute them in different colleges as to prevent their acquiring any knowledge of each other as fellow-workers for a common end. The Institute therefore will aim at bringing together every day these fifty or sixty men. It will aim at uniting them by social ties, as well as by the stronger bond of friendly co-operation, and will in this way, I hope, help to generate a little of that *esprit de corps*, formerly created and fostered—to the great advantage of the public service—by the old East India College at Haileybury.

But the Institute will not merely be a rallying point for these Indian civilians. It will be a centre of union, inquiry and instruction, for all Englishmen interested in the welfare of our Eastern Empire, or preparing for Indian careers of any kind. It will also, I hope, become an attractive meeting-place for students of other countries who may be engaged in Indian research ; for natives of India residing at our University ; and for eminent Anglo-Indian administrators and officers, who, when at home on furlough, or after retiring from the service, may visit Oxford and be willing to give us valuable information on Indian topics.

For assuredly we should be doing our duty very

imperfectly by our Indian empire, if we were to confine ourselves to the teaching of only one class of persons preparing for Indian careers. We are bound to consider also the needs of others, such, for example, as chaplains, merchants, and military men. And are we not also to think of doing something towards the evangelization of India by the education of competent missionaries? We at Oxford have lately established a Mission at Calcutta, whose work lies among the educated natives, and aims at influencing their higher culture. For this reason it is much to be desired that we should have a Reader in Indian philosophy, who would lecture on its relation to the philosophical and religious thought of Europe.

Moreover, the time has arrived when it becomes the duty of every University to instil some general knowledge of Indian subjects into the minds of its ordinary students, who, without setting foot on Indian soil, may one day be called upon, as members of Parliament, to exercise supreme control over the destinies of our Eastern Empire.

For, it cannot be denied, that of late years a great change has come over our Indian administrative system. India and her interests are turned every day more and more into a weapon of party warfare. Eastern affairs are looked upon from the point of view of Western political ideas, and the government of a vast country which can only advance slowly, and dislikes nothing more than unsettled and wavering legislation—is made part and parcel of the varying policy of successive Cabinets. No one can read the daily newspapers without observing that at the present moment every pulsation of the heart of our Indian Empire throbs sympathetically with telegraphic vibrations transmitted from the House of Commons. No tremour can occur on the floor of that house, but instantly a corresponding thrill darts through the whole administrative machinery of India from Bombay to Bengal—from Cape Comorin to Cashmere.

Indeed, on this account all thoughtful persons are now looking with anxiety to the future of our Indian Empire,

knowing that the welfare of both the rulers and the ruled in that immense country, or rather collection of countries, is becoming increasingly dependent on the will of a powerful assembly, acting impulsively, and with the best intentions, but not always according to knowledge.

Depend upon it, that if our members of Parliament are to exercise supreme control over the administration of India, they ought to be men imbued with an earnest desire to know her true condition, her needs and difficulties, her prejudices and predilections, her weakness and strength. And when and where are they likely to obtain this knowledge, unless institutions like the Indian Institute are founded at great educational centres?

Having, then, set an example at Oxford, which I trust other Universities will follow, it will perhaps be desirable that, before concluding, I should explain a little more fully the work to be done by the first Indian Institute, the corner-stone of which was laid by the Prince of Wales on the 2nd of May 1883, and the opening of which will take place next October. It will, as I have already hinted, aim at creating an appetite and respect for Indian studies among all classes of our students. It will devote itself to the work of making Englishmen, and even Indians themselves, appreciate better than they have ever done before, the languages, literatures, arts, industries and resources of India.

Then, in regard to its next great object of facilitating the acquisition of such subjects, it will effect this in the first place by scholarly union and co-operation between its various Oriental professors, readers and teachers, who will all teach and lecture in one building and under one roof.

But it will also have in view the great advantage to be derived from conveying instruction through the interaction of ear and eye. It will contain a well-stocked reading-room, furnished with Indian newspapers and magazines, a constantly increasing library of manuscripts, books and maps, many of them too costly to be procurable by private means, and a good typical Indian museum, as well as

ample lecture-rooms—all of them side by side or opening one into the other. Assuredly lecture-rooms, library and museum will by their inter-dependence and inter-communication aid and illustrate each other.

At any rate, their presence in the very centre of Oxford, and in the very heart of a cathedral city, will put it in the power, not only of every member of the University, but of every citizen also, to obtain a good general knowledge of our Indian empire, of the country and its material products, of the inhabitants, their languages, habits of thought and moral condition.

And with regard to the languages of India, both classical and vernacular, I may here remark that it is surely the duty of a great University in the country which rules India, to encourage their cultivation—quite irrespectively of the wants of the Civil Service probationers. The vastness and excellence of Sanscrit literature need not be pointed out; but it is not so well known that some of the Indian vernaculars, such as Hindī, Marāṭhī and Tamil have literatures of their own, of which every great English University ought to take account, if only as a protest against the neglect they are suffering at the hands of the Government University authorities in India itself, where they are only admitted as subjects at the matriculation examinations. A slight of this kind inflicted by the examining bodies of the Government Universities, cannot but lead to the deterioration of these languages, and yet can never lead to their extinction; for how are the masses of India to be educated except through the medium of their own vernacular dialects?

In conclusion, let me say that the first Indian Institute is intended to be a kind of sanctuary for the guardianship of a certain number of selected native scholars sent to us from India. It is, perhaps, not generally known, that I have recently made a journey to Calcutta, with the object of trying to induce the Supreme Government there, to found six scholarships of £200 a year each for deserving natives, who will complete their education at Oxford, and carry on their studies under the superintendence of the

Director of the Indian Institute. I am happy to say that the Viceroy and his Council have assented to my proposal, which now only awaits the sanction of the Secretary of State in this country.

In this way the Indian Institute will have—so to speak—two wings, one spreading itself to foster Eastern studies among Europeans; the other extending itself to foster Western studies among Indians. It will be a kind of home for the representatives of two civilisations; a kind of literary Exchange, where the wisdom and knowledge received centuries ago from the East will be repaid, I trust with interest, by the West. And, in regard to this point, I may state that a statute has recently been passed at Oxford, to enable students from India to substitute Sanscrit or Arabic for either Greek or Latin, in the University examinations. At the same time they will have to acquire one classical language of Europe, while English students will be allowed to offer one Indian classical language at the pass examinations, in place of either Greek or Latin. And this being the case, who can doubt that the University of Oxford will in the future do its manifest duty in promoting an interchange of the literary wealth of Asia and Europe?

Young Englishmen will, at our University, learn that Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, have many pearls worth diving for, and young Indians will find that all learning is not confined to Pandits, S'āstrīs and Maulavīs, and than much wisdom and true poetry is stored up in Greek and Latin literature. Moreover, our University will become a place for the interchange of qualities, as well as knowledge. Young Indians will there, I trust, derive from their contact with young Englishmen a little of that bone and fibre which constitutes strength of character. At any rate, they will see in many an Oxford youth such qualities as courage, determination, tenacity of purpose, soundness of judgment, accuracy, punctuality, powers of observation and that manly self-respect, which lies at the root of both personal and political morality. And young Englishmen, on

the other hand, will see in young Indians many qualities worthy of their imitation—such as industry, patience, courtesy of manner, temperance, obedience to authority, and toleration. I could say much more, but I forbear.

Let me simply, before concluding, express a hope that all our Universities in every part of the United Kingdom, will combine in the great work of making India better known to its rulers, and its rulers better known to India—that all will join in the great work of producing a better understanding, and more mutual appreciation between the inhabitants of two mighty countries, separated from each other in material space as far as the East is from the West, yet descendants of one and the same ancient race, subjects of one Empress-Queen, and bound together by the closest ties of common interest, reciprocal obligation, and intimate political union.

DISCUSSION.

Pandit SHYĀMAJI KRISHNAVARMĀ would say a word or two about University Education. He had had the good fortune to be at Oxford for nearly six years, and from having seen there many young Indian Civil Service probationers, in his capacity as a lecturer at Balliol College, he could say with some confidence what sort of training they received there. He urged that the Universities should encourage the study of some of the Indian languages. But why was it necessary that Englishmen should study Sanscrit or some other language of India? It was necessary for this reason. If they were to study Sanscrit, they would see that India had something at least which could be favourably compared with the literature of Greece or Rome. A statute had just been passed by the University of Oxford, by which natives of India might take up Sanscrit, instead of either Greek or Latin, but that option should not be allowed simply to the natives of India, it should also

be given to Englishmen. What was the objection? Did they think that Englishmen would be contaminated by the study of Sanscrit? It was an important thing, that if England was to govern India, Englishmen ought to know something of the literature of that country. He pointed out that the present limit of age for the Competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service, prevented men of University distinction from joining that service, while it practically shut the door of competition to the natives of India. The responsible Government of this country ought to provide for sending to India men who had their brains cultivated after the fashion of the Universities. But why should the Universities be asked to take up these things? Universities in this country, he need hardly say, had more influence over the minds of the people than any other institution. The Prime Minister once said to him:—"You can easily imagine the influence of the Universities, from the fact that all the Chancellors of the University of Oxford, for example, had been Prime Ministers of England." If they had University men sent out to India, instead of the men who were not educated at any University, it would be much better for the service. There had been a charter lately given for an Indian Hostel at Cambridge, while there existed already the Indian Institute at Oxford, and he hoped that Englishmen would take more interest in all that is connected with India and its people.

Mr. JARDINE would not give quite so much importance to the mere possession of a University degree, for that would be almost saying that the men who went out in the older times under the East India Company, sometimes only sixteen years old, and without thinking of degrees at all, were not men of culture. If they went back to the time of Warren Hastings, they would find in the Indian service a large proportion of men who had not been at Universities, but were emphatically men of culture. Still, it was found that intellectual culture was a matter which could not be dispensed with, and a means of supplying it was initiated by the great Marquis of Wellesley when,

recognising the necessities of empire, he established a college in Calcutta for the training of young civil servants; and also, after a time, Haileybury was instituted, which for long was eminent for its men of learning and culture as well as administrative power. The abolition of Haileybury imposed greater duties on the Universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on all men of culture, and on Indian statesmen—it imposed upon them the duty of seeing that there was some place where the young Indian civil servants, before they went out, and the natives when they came to England, could get all those advantages of learning and training which Haileybury used to offer. The course now taken at Cambridge, in imitation of Professor Monier Williams' idea, was likely to do a great deal in that direction. The subject naturally divided itself into two parts: first, the training of the men who were going out, and, secondly, the training of the natives coming to England. He spoke from an experience of India gained in all sorts of places, and he could say that the culture that men got at Oxford or Cambridge was of the greatest importance in dealing with the natives. When men were entrusted with great power there was a tendency to abuse it, and culture gave the means of resisting that tendency, by creating wider sympathies and moderating the usual tendency of a bureaucracy. It was well that the men should be well seasoned with it before they went out. He had been in Bombay under the Government of Sir Bartle Frere, who was a man of almost universal culture. His influence had been so great that, whilst most Englishmen were going in for making fortunes, one gentleman, a native named Premchund Roychund had been influenced to give the large amount of £20,000 to erect some splendid buildings for the University of Bombay, and he gave the same donation to the city of Calcutta for similar purposes. The passenger fares between Bombay and Europe would diminish with the competition as trade developed, and natives would be coming swarming over here in the future, and they would want culture and looking

after. He knew a native of India who had been at Oxford, who was now president of a college where the young nobles and princes of India were being educated ; and with regard to the particular influences to which he alluded, part of this man's evenings were spent by him in giving technical instruction to the young stone-masons and carpenters, in order to give them some better notions in their own handicrafts. In that way he was spreading his influence amongst the people. He hoped that what was suggested with regard to Oxford and Cambridge would be carried out in other Universities, he believed, if it were carried out, it would have an extremely good result, and he hailed Professor M. Williams' Institute as a great boon to India.

Mr. OSCAR BROWNING could not be in the building and know that this subject was to be discussed without attending, for the purpose of making a few remarks, drawn from his personal experience. He would confine himself to the education question, and to the suggestions with regard to the Indian Civil Service, and also to the University of Cambridge. Oxford men, if there were any present, must pardon him in what he said of one University, if he did not apply it to the other. He spoke entirely on his own responsibility, and what he said was drawn entirely from his own observations, and must not be considered as in any way pledging the University to which he belonged. He felt that the present mode of selection, and the present system of education for the Indian Civil Service were most unsatisfactory. If those who governed the destinies of India were really aware of the true facts, he thought they would be struck with horror at the unsatisfactory condition of the present state of things, and that they would hasten to alter it. He believed, in the first place, that the age was far too young at which men were sent out, and that it was almost impossible under those conditions to get the best men. Under the new regulations, a boy had to make up his mind to go into the Indian Civil Service when all the delights and honours of a University career were open to him. He had to sacrifice all these. Unless he were at a

public school where he could be instructed for service in India, he would have to go to a tutor, and sacrifice his school career. He had been a University teacher, and from his knowledge of boys and young men, he knew they could not get the best boys and men to do that, because they did not see the desirability of entering on a career, which might possibly be a great career, in India, and there was nothing to induce them to go. Therefore, the first thing wanted was an alteration in the age. Then the next thing was with regard to the present mode of selection. That was very faulty. He did not wish to say a word against the Civil Service Commissioners, who he believed did nine-tenths of their work exceedingly well in their selection of candidates for clerkships, and in the army and lower appointments. But the system they adopted was incompatible with the selection of the best men for the Indian service. Their method of examining was purely mechanical, as the object of it was to prevent any unfair devices on the part of either tutor or examiner. That ought not to be thought of for a moment, because no one had ever dreamt of imputing unfairness to those who had examined for the degrees of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. If that were not the case, if the Universities were not thoroughly trustworthy on that point, he thought the power of conferring degrees ought to be taken away from them altogether. The object the commissioners had was to safe-guard themselves against unfairness on the part of the examiners, and that object was not met by not allowing the examiners to see each other or the candidates, and in fact none of those elaborate processes adopted by the Universities in selecting the best candidates were gone through by the Civil Service Commissioners. At present he was examiner for the University of London with a brother examiner. They were told that they were jointly responsible for their report, and they met their brother examiners to discuss with them, so that no man was affected by the examination, except upon the judgment of the whole body of examiners,

whereas by the Civil Service examination the men simply sent in their papers and got their marks for them. The only duty imposed upon the examiners for the University of London was to decide whether a man could pass, not whether he deserved a prize ; but in the Civil Service examinations they had to decide whether a man should be selected for high appointments. Then having those two great faults, in the first place the age being too low, and in the next the examination not being of the kind which it ought to be, there was also the objection that the instruction which those men got at the University was extremely faulty. He was glad to hear the name of Haileybury mentioned. He believed that the people who founded it and kept it up had a high-minded conception of what the education of Indian statesmen ought to be, an education far different to that peddling and pettifogging education which was now given to the candidates for the Indian Civil Service. They were supposed to get a particular kind of knowledge of law by pottering about the English police courts ; they were supposed to get an extremely imperfect knowledge of a number of obscure native languages, and in fact, instead of being educated as statesmen, they were given that narrow professional education in England, which could only be very imperfectly given, and which could be given with far more rapidity, and with far more success, when they got out of the country, and when they had their minds open to receive it. It was impossible to re-establish Haileybury, and probably no one desired that, but when Haileybury was established, Oxford and Cambridge were nothing else but seminaries intended to train up clergymen. That had passed away. Whatever subjects were taught at Haileybury in the old times were now taught extremely well at Oxford and Cambridge, and if not, there was no great difficulty in getting them taught. He did not wish at the same time to depreciate any other University, he only spoke of those he knew, when these men came to Cambridge they did not attend the lectures. He, himself, had lectured on Maine's "Ancient Law," and

only on one occasion had an Indian civil servant attended his lectures, because, as they stated, they did not require the subjects taught at the lectures for their examination, and that they had much better go to a coach. Notwithstanding that there were lectures on political science, and, indeed, of all kinds suitable to them, none of them were attended by the Indian Civil Service candidates. The University had spent much money in getting men like Sir John Strachey to give special lectures to the Indian Civil Service students, and those lectures were attended by a large number of men and women from the University. It was proposed that a special bench should be set apart for the Indian Civil Service students, but it was thought on reflection that the numbers attending the lectures would be so small that it was not well to show their poverty in that respect. That was one of the first things that ought to be altered, and if those selected students were to be sent to the Universities they ought to receive an academical education. Whoever was responsible for it, whether the Indian authorities or the Civil Service Commissioners, the students ought to be enabled to sit on the same benches with the other undergraduates, and to receive instruction which would really fit them for the career which had been chosen for them. He would make another remark in very guarded language. When this new regulation was made about the Indian civil servants coming to the University, he, for one, hailed it with enthusiasm, and thought that good would be done to India and to the men who were sent out, but he had been entirely disappointed. They had at Cambridge a number of those students, who lived among the other students, so that their modes of life and habits of thought could be compared, and also their powers of influence over their fellow undergraduates; and he could say that with a few notable exceptions they had entirely failed to satisfy those tests. Such selected Indian Civil Service students, with certain exceptions, had not made their mark in any kind of way on the colleges where they were located; several of them lived entirely

unknown, no one speaking to or knowing them, not because there was any prejudice against them, but because they did not make themselves known. How was a man who happened to have been successful in an examination likely to be able to govern a proud and historical race, when he had not the spirit to make himself a name among his fellow students ! The country had the shame of sending those men out to India, chosen for high destinies, while other far superior men were obliged in after years to go out to India as merchants, or to become masters of small schools in England, who would, when the pressure of life came upon them, have given anything for the chances which those other men had had. It seemed as if some evil fate had presided over the councils of those who had the government of India in their hands, to select such men and put aside the best qualified men. Any system, he believed, even one involving jobbery and patronage, would be better than a system which produced such results. He thought, therefore, that the appointment of men to our Indian Civil Service needed a radical reform, and if that reform should by any chance lead to the abolition of public competition he should not be sorry, and he believed that the English people would support it. He believed that public competition was established originally as a defence against the abuse of patronage ; that had been done away with, but he thought that if it were proved that public competition did not lead to the selection of the best men, men who were fit for those high posts, the public in England would say that it ought to be done away with. He could not at present go into details upon the question how he would reform those evils, because such an inquiry would lead him too far ; but he must say that he feared those who had the government of England in their hands had not been guided by a desire to obtain the best men for governing India, but had been largely guided by a desire to exclude the natives. If they were to fix a proper age, men who had attained their degrees, and had passed through school and

college, and who at an earlier age would not give up their University career, in after years would give anything for the means of going out to India. That might be a matter of high policy in which it might be perhaps difficult to deal, and he was not prepared to enter upon it now ; but he would simply say that if a system were established on one ground it should not be defended on another. Speaking as one who had had considerable experience both in schools and colleges, he would say that if they wished to get the best people for performing those high functions, they must entirely change their system from one end to the other.

The CHAIRMAN (Professor Henry Morley) said, as Mr. Oscar Browning had spoken of what had been done by Cambridge, and Professor Monier Williams of what had been done at Oxford, perhaps he might be allowed to tell them what had been done in London, for of the University there he had had some considerable experience. The University of London at present was an examining University ; one of his fixed ideas was that it should be also a teaching University, and then when the teaching element had been developed, as he believed it would be as part of the result of this Conference, more elaboration would afterwards be possible. But the teaching element of the London University had been chiefly represented hitherto at University College. The Indian civilians who studied at University College were required to reside with a Professor or in University Hall. Two years ago that was almost an inoperative condition ; University Hall was imperfectly developed, and hardly any of the selected candidates came to London. But now London ranked next to Oxford as the University to which the greater number of the selected candidates came, and he had now under his care, as Principal of University Hall, about fifteen of the selected candidates. Two years ago, when it became his duty to re-arrange University Hall, he suggested and urged that University College should develop fully and fairly the teaching of the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service. It was not, of course, the part of a college, as such, to enter into a

discussion of the general questions as to the manner of conducting examinations, and so forth ; but taking facts as they were and the world as it was, they had to consider what it was they should do and what it was they could do. In the first place, he thought they should, and he believed they could, establish at University College a complete curriculum of study according to the requirements actually laid down. They had a complete staff for the teaching of law, native languages, and all the subjects required ; and in association with it they had developed, as far as could be in a single community of about fifty-five men, as near an ideal of what University corporate life should be as they had known how to bring into practice.

The selected candidates there were going through the required studies, and those studies, also, with some of the highest men, included work for graduation. He was much struck with Professor Monier Williams's suggestion that three years of training would be better than two. He would not touch the practical question at all, but to his own mind that seemed just. In London the operation of the two years' term was this. The student who came to London and wished to graduate could do so after he had passed his open examination, if he went at once to matriculation, and could pass in Honours. He could in that case take his London B.A. degree before going out to India. In London that degree could be obtained by any good man who had had a good school training, and had passed in Honours in matriculation. It had its faults as well as its merits, no doubt, still, any well-trained schoolboy could pass the London University matriculation, the best men could even pass in honours if they wished, and if they did that they would be excused a year in going up for their first B.A. examination, and that excuse of a year enabled them to complete their examinations before going out to India. But the additional year which Professor Monier Williams suggests would take away the necessity for cram, and he objected to examinations of that kind. There were necessary evils in the world, and perhaps this might be

one of them. The student entered into University Hall, and there the Indian civilian was entirely under College rule, and the community was planned as far as possible with a view to the development of corporate and college life. The student was one of, say, about fifteen of his own kind in a community of over fifty of various descriptions. They might happen to include in University Hall another fifteen who were training in theology, and this religious element extended to about one-fourth of the men who were training there. Then they came into contact in the Hall with the whole body of the students. They could not, and were not allowed to form a clique; they were as much as possible self-governed; and his notion of the governing of a college hall was, that it should be autocratic where necessary, but regulated as much as possible to develop the democratic element, while teaching the men to govern themselves as far as possible. They had societies and meetings, and as much as possible was done by committees of the men themselves. In fact they governed themselves as far as possible. That was an illustration of the Indian Civilians' life in London. They had themselves, for instance, on one occasion at a meeting which they held in the Hall, for choice of a representative motto, preferred the words, *non scholæ sed vitæ discimus*—that would show their home feeling in the matter. It was a great thing if they could be got to learn self help. That was what they did at the old Universities; and whenever the influence of agencies like that of Professor Monier Williams came to the assistance of the student, they did well. But all those connected with India, and with the great movement which had been assisted by that gentleman, would sympathise entirely in his feeling as to what was wanted to really fit the men who were sent out to India, and his suggestions were of the greater value from being made by a man who had come into such intimate relation with the Indians. The day, he thought, would come in India, when England, as the school-master, would retire, and India, the pupil, would take her place, and the Indians would govern themselves. And that would

be the sooner done by an imbuing of Indian and English minds with that entire spirit of fellowship of which Professor Monier Williams was a type.

Mr. JOHNSTON said the first question was, how were they to get the best Englishmen for the Services in India? He had never been satisfied with our present system, and in our desire to get rid of the abuses of patronage, we had run into another abuse, which was worse than patronage. The Institution which they owed to Professor Monier Williams' zeal, was of great importance. He felt grateful for the high standard which that gentleman had set up as required for the men we send to India. It was the highest and best he had ever heard described, and the ideal, he hoped, would be ever before the minds of those who had the ruling of India in their hands. They were making most elaborate arrangements for men to go out to India, but as soon as they were landed there they were anxious to get home again; and one of the greatest evils they had to contend with was the short term of service which our men had in India. It was not so in former times, and if Professor Monier Williams could inspire his students with something of the spirit of one of the greatest and earliest linguists who went out to India—Sir William Jones; if he could inspire them with something of his feeling of awe and reverence when he approached the coast of India, it would be a great boon to them and to the country. Steam was making us more familiar with India without our knowing it, and if we could only inspire the men with the feeling that they were going to India to do a work which was worth a lifetime's work, we should be able to send out a stamp of men who would render it better service. Then, how were they to get the natives of India to take full advantage of such an Institution as this? He was delighted to hear that the Government were prepared to give a few bursaries or scholarships for men coming over here, but that was only a beginning. There was another consideration which should be taken into account along with that, which was, how could they get the best class of people in India to give

themselves to an educational course there, and come over to this country to finish it? The great mass of our students in the Colleges of India were not of the best class of the population, there were very few of the sons of the old nobility, or princes of India, who were now studying in our colleges, and the great mass of men who had been going through were men from a humble rank, many of them positively of the poorer class, while the richer and nobler families of India were not going in for the higher education. How could they tempt those men to come here and study? Those men had the traditional associations which fitted them far better for ruling India than the men who came over now, and if they could be got to go through the necessary education, England would get a body of men who would be of immense service to her in the government of India. No doubt there were some noble exceptions, and there were members of some of the highest Hindoo families in India who had been so educated, but they were the rare exceptions to the rule.

Mr. ROBERT CUST was glad to hear Professor Browning condemn the early period at which young civilians were now sent out to India. It was a cruel shame to the people of India that the young men of that country were by that rule excluded from their chance of entering the Service. No doubt some Indians were still able to come over, but that was only exceptional now. He therefore trusted that the rule might be altered. It must have been passed simply in the interest of impecunious fathers of large families, who wanted to get their sons off their hands into the Service in any way, even to the injury of the people of India. Professor Browning had talked of the obscure native languages, but he must really take exception to that remark. Why should any one of the great languages of India be called obscure? The Hindi was spoken by 80 millions of people, and the Gujeráti by 20 millions. Books were written and newspapers published in the great languages of Northern India, and those languages were quite as good to anybody

acquainted with them as French, Italian, or Spanish. It showed an ignorance and want of appreciation of India for people to talk of a native Indian language being obscure, or at all events it showed an imperfect knowledge which he hoped the education to be given at the proposed Institution would remove. He begged to thank Professor Monier Williams for all that he had done in these matters. That gentleman began his work ten years ago, when the minds of the people in power were against him, and great people would not notice him, but he knew what he was about. He had been going out to India himself forty-four years ago, and though he did not then go out, he had an Indian heart. He had gone out lately three times to make himself familiar with Indian affairs, and was the missing link, he might say, between India and England. The last remark he had to make was with regard to the people of India and England. The people of India must no longer be treated as children, and as a despised race. England could not deal with a nationality of 250 millions in that way. With a free press, and an unlimited freedom of discussion, which we had given to India, we had either gone too far, or we must go much further. We had let the school-master loose in India, and the effect would be something extraordinary within the next twenty-five years. It was with a feeling of sorrow that he had witnessed the opposition to the Ilbert Bill last year. The Government of India was only doing an act of common justice in letting the Indian civil servant exercise the same power as we exercised ourselves. What was the meaning of letting an Indian come over here to be educated, and sending him out as a civil servant, and then not letting him try Englishmen, who might come before him out there? Of what those Indians were they had an example in the gentleman who had already addressed the meeting, and he might, perhaps, say *ex uno disce omnes*. We should invest our fellow-subjects in India (as they were like ourselves all subjects of the Queen), with the same rights and privileges, and from an opinion, founded upon a twenty-five years' experience, he could say

that they were good, loyal, and true, and worthy of every consideration that could be given them.

Mr. OSCAR BROWNING regretted that he had used the words "obscure native languages," but what he meant was that he thought it infinitely more important that an Indian civil servant should be taught Sanscrit than the Indian dialects, extensive as they were, and he did not think that our students were encouraged to learn the Sanscrit as much as they ought to be. One very bad effect of the present system of Civil Service was, that it did not give our civil servants the interest in India that Mr. Johnston had said they ought to have. In preparing men for the Church, for the law, and for other professions, they were taught in a way which would give them something like enthusiasm. They had not the enthusiasm they ought to have, because their time was so wholly taken up in preparing for examinations. One of the worst results of the examinations was, that it deprived the men of the enthusiasm which they ought to have for the country to which they were sent out.

Professor MONIER WILLIAMS said he was very grateful for all that had been stated, and the speeches which had been made had given him a great deal of instruction. In the first place, he agreed with his contemporary and one of his oldest friends now left alive, Mr. Cust, in what he had said of Mr. Shyámaji Krishnavarmá, *ex uno disce omnes*. He trusted all natives of India who came to this country would lead as distinguished a career as that gentleman. It had been said that Sanscrit should be allowed at Oxford throughout the whole of the University course, not only for natives of India, but for Englishmen (meaning by Englishmen, Britons), and he quite agreed with that. Even now it was admissible for any member of the University of Oxford to take up Sanscrit as one subject of his final schools. He thought that Sanscrit was as useful as Greek for philological and linguistic training, and that therefore they ought to allow any Englishman as well as any native of India to take up Sanscrit in lieu of

Greek for the whole of his University career. He would ask to be allowed to say a word about St. Paul's hostel, which he had seen in the papers was now being founded at Cambridge. That was likely to become a very useful institution. It was to enable students from India and from our colonies to find a home at Cambridge not only during the term time but during the vacation. He must say that was exactly what he wished the Oxford Indian Institute to be. He wished it to become a home for the natives of India who came to us as scholars from that country, not only in the term but in vacation. It remained for the University of Oxford to carry out his intentions in this respect, but they had not yet agreed to his proposals. Mr. Jardine, who was a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, had spoken regretfully of the abolition of Haileybury—the old East India College, not the present Haileybury, which was an excellent school, but the old college at Haileybury—where so many great Indian administrators were trained, men like Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Cust, and others. He himself had also been trained there for the Indian Civil Service, and great benefit he had derived from it. He thoroughly agreed in the expression of regret at the abolition of that old college, but he trusted that many students would come from India, both to Oxford and Cambridge, and find there a second Haileybury. Mr. Oscar Browning, in whose speech he was greatly interested, considered that the present age for the candidates for the Indian Civil Service was too young. That age—as he had already stated in his paper—was from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$. All he would further say with regard to this point was, that the opinion of an immense number in all branches of the Indian Civil Service was taken at the time, and these opinions were collected in a thick blue book, which anybody might consult if they liked. It was in itself a complete literature, and would take a man about a month to master. He had worked through the book himself when he was in India. Lord Salisbury, who also, he supposed, had worked

through it, would not have lowered the age without the most earnest examination of the opinions there expressed, and he believed that the majority were in favour of lowering it. He did not say he agreed in that himself. Then Mr. Oscar Browning had said there was much room for improvement in the education of Indian civilians at Oxford and Cambridge, and he quite agreed with him. He thought that the present system of sending selected Indian candidates to Oxford and Cambridge without obliging them to pass any University examinations, so that they formed a separate body, or kind of clique apart from the rest of the University, and had no studies in common with the rest of the students, was an immense evil. He had himself tried to influence those high in office, and had endeavoured to persuade them to insist upon the selected candidates remaining three years at the University, and upon their passing the University examinations, and not being allowed to go out to India until they had taken their B.A. degree. He quite agreed in the opinion that the selected Indian candidates ought to be made to come to the Universities, and there be blended with the other undergraduates. One of the objects of the Oxford Indian Institute was, as he had said, to bring all destined for Indian careers together, and to foster among them a sort of *esprit de corps*, like that which existed in the old East India College, without allowing them to form a body distinct from the University. Then, with regard to what had been said about competition, he was afraid that to go back to the old system was impossible. He feared that under that system they got some very "bad bargains." Mr. Cust, he thought, was the only gentleman in the room who was with him at Haileybury, and he would remember that there were men there who really were scarcely able to do anything else when they arrived in India, except sign their own names. But now, under the present system of competition, they had got rid of such dunces. On the whole the selected candidates were good men. But at the same time he must admit that competition did not produce

better men than the best men under the old system. He was grateful to Mr. Johnston for his earnest speech, and he agreed with him most thoroughly that what was due from us to India was reverence. We owed reverence to the people of India, to their literature, their opinions, their ancient customs; though we should try to improve them. He thought no better word could be employed than the word "reverence." The meeting would agree with him in thanking the Chairman for his excellent remarks, and they were all glad to hear from him, that in the University Hall, which he had spoken of as connected with the University of London, might be found that corporate life for students at a University which was above all things to be desired. He understood also, that at the University of London selected Indian candidates might take their degrees in two years: he had himself tried to gain the same privilege for them at Oxford, but he was sorry to say he had failed in that matter. He felt sure he was expressing the feeling of everyone present when he said they were much interested in what their Chairman, Professor Henry Morley, had told them.

The Rev. Dr. DAWES proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and also to Professor Monier Williams for the valuable paper he had read. The feeling for India he had expressed in it, and the tone of sympathy he had shown for the great interests of that country, connected as they were with the interests of England, must meet with general approval. They would all combine in returning him their thanks, and in hoping that the improvements he had suggested would be carried out.

The motion was carried unanimously.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 10 A.M.

Chairman : The Lord REAY.

ON THE PROPER RELATION BETWEEN THE TEACHING AND EXAMINING BODIES IN A UNIVERSITY.

By Sir GEORGE YOUNG, Bart.

TO a stranger in London, after the inspection of hospitals or museums, and whatever else is best worth seeing among us, it may, perhaps, be suggested, if he is interested in education, that he should pay a visit to the University to which London gives its name. That London has a University is generally understood ; but not much more is popularly known of it. That there are professors to be met with in London society, that degrees are somewhere conferred, and that a Member of Parliament is elected by the graduates, makes up, it may be assumed, the sum total of the knowledge possessed on the subject by an average Londoner. Foreigners, however well acquainted with University history, probably know no more than this : that the University of London is a modern institution which, for some insular reason, has never got itself fairly founded. In real truth the institution, though difficult to appreciate, is of the most interesting character, and its history is full of lessons to the student of educational matters.

In Burlington Street, at the back of the Royal Academy, is a sufficiently imposing edifice, which constitutes the

local habitation of the London University. It is the gift of the nation, provided at the public expense. But it is small, very small ; it becomes obvious at a glance that nothing more than the offices, the administration of a great University, can be provided within such limits. There is not room for many classes ; there are no laboratories ; there is the nucleus, merely, of a library, a suite of examination rooms, and a senate house. The work of University teaching, it is evident, must be done elsewhere.

To a visitor from France there will appear in this, at first sight, nothing strange. He will seem to recognise the University of France, the official centre, as it were, from which radiates the organization of superior instruction throughout the country. On enquiry, however, for the academies, the affiliated institutions, regulated from this centre, the analogy is found to fail. There are no institutions for teaching purposes in correspondence with, or (except in name only) affiliated to, the University of London. It neither teaches, nor directs teaching. The professors among us, many of them honoured as far as culture extends, are not its professors. The London students, on whom degrees are conferred, are none of them indebted to the London University for any part of their instruction. It is, strange to say, a University without a single teacher, without a single student ; except only that, as if to top the anomaly by an exception still more anomalous, it possesses the Brown Institute, of recent foundation, for the investigation and cure of the diseases of animals.

What, then, are the functions which this institution performs, on the strength of which it claims to appropriate the venerable title of University for the largest city of civilised men which the world has ever seen ? The answer must seem strange to those to whom it is new—monstrous, almost, to the lovers and maintainers of culture in the historic Universities of Europe. It examines, and directs examinations ; it confers degrees and money prizes on those who pass examinations ; and that is all. Now, it has often been

discussed whether the idea of a University is more correctly that of a society of teachers, or of scholars; whether education, or research, is more truly the prime function of such an institution. But the idea of an examining University is novel.

Whatever the good work done respectively by this institution, and by a University as the term is generally understood, this work is not that work. While Universities established to teach, or learn, teach or learn well or ill, as the case may be, this University, established to examine, is not teaching or learning, or directly promoting the advance, either of education or of knowledge. If there is a University in London, according to the common acceptance of the word, it is not to be found in Burlington Street. If it is desirable that there should be such a University, the existence of this institution is no conclusive reason why it should not come into existence.

But, it will be said, the work of examining, though not all the work of a University, is at least an important part of it. Is it not upon the successful examinee, rather than on the student as such, that at Oxford and Cambridge is conferred the typical privilege of a degree, the title which is recognised in all countries by the State, and which confers, throughout the civilised West, the rank of citizenship in the Republic of Letters?

While conceding to the full the value of rigorous examination, it is necessary to be on our guard against the error of exalting it from its proper place, as the handmaid of teaching, into that of the mistress, and finally the substitute for teaching. First established by Bentley as a means of awarding the fellowships at Trinity College, Cambridge; first enthroned over a University in the form of the far-famed mathematical tripos, the practice of examination has done good service, and is doing good service, to education in England. It extinguished favouritism; it compelled or aided the abolition of local and sectarian privileges; it has contributed to exactness in scholarship, and has sensibly raised the standard of attainment among cultivated men

who are not specialists. Its success at the Universities has led to its being imported, with the best results, into schools, into medical education, into selections for the public service. It is daily opening fresh fields in those domains of human energy, which have been overshadowed by privilege and traditional routine. But in the meantime its influence upon the highest culture has been questionable. The institution of the Cambridge mathematical tripos, it has been often remarked, synchronized with the loss to England of her mathematical pre-eminence. The palmary advance of England in this century has been in natural science—a region over which, till yesterday, the examiner held no sway. Classical scholarship has indeed flourished; but it is said that classical learning has declined. Literature has owed little to the typical examinee; research still less. The study of law has withered out of our Universities, choked by the competition of studies that would “pay.” At Oxford and Cambridge there has been, in our time, a strenuous attempt to remedy the evil of the severance of examination from systematic public teaching. The examinations, however popular or even venerable they might have become, have been boldly recast again and again. The old Senior Wrangler is gone; the old class list is materially changed. Reforms are still needed, in the opinion of many, in the system of examinations for college scholarships and fellowships. Here, in London, we awake to find the least commendable accident of the last hundred years of University history newly erected into a new principle for our respect and enthusiasm. That principle is the independence of examination from any relations with systematic teaching: it is the exemption of examinations from all control on the part of teachers.

It may be noted, by the way, that not even examiners in the constitution of the University are entrusted with control over the examinations. The administration lies with the Senate, a body appointed partly by the Government, partly by—of all people in the world—the body of graduates. It consists chiefly of eminent men who are, in all that

concerns the educational profession, amateurs. The examiners, many of them also eminent, not only have no voice in the administration, but have no official standpoint, even, from which to tender advice in concert.

The principle is, as I have said, a novel experiment. But this is not all. It is also, if we look at the history of the institution, an accident. It was never intended, either by the promoters of the movement which led to the foundation of the London University, or by the founders themselves, that the relations it embodied between examination and teaching should be zero—a non-existent quantity. It is matter of history that the name of the “London University” was originally assumed by the teaching institution in Gower Street, a true University in all but name, now known, to those who know it, as University College. That institution was founded as the embodiment of certain theories of reform in education, which constituted a revolt against the teaching, then almost exclusively mathematical and classical, at Cambridge, and almost exclusively theological and Aristotelian, at Oxford. It was founded, further, for the purpose of enabling Non-conformists, excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, to obtain degrees, and of rendering University education attainable at a less expense than in their colleges. Originating as it did with one party in politics, and identified as it was with theories which, though now generally accepted, were at that time distasteful to many, the movement was inevitably followed by a counter movement for the foundation of a Church of England University institution in London, which came into existence, with the aid of a vote from Government, as King’s College. King’s College, like University College, whether estimated by the eminence of its teachers, the number of its students, or the results of its teaching, is a veritable University. When these two institutions came before the public, with claims that degrees should be made accessible to their students, a curious course was taken. Misled by the existing state of things at Oxford and Cambridge, where the wealthy colleges

had overlaid the University ; where the University, with its Vice-Chancellor chosen in turn from the Heads of Houses, with its students all parked in colleges, with a professoriate almost otiose, and with an empty money-chest, appeared in the light of a mere tie to bind colleges together, the statesmen of the day, mostly college bred, decreed in their wisdom that there should be a new body established by Act of Parliament to exercise the residuary function of examining the students, which alone seemed left for a University to perform, and that University and King's Colleges, together with other similar institutions that had been or might be founded in London or elsewhere, should be colleges in this University, and should, as the phrase went, be "affiliated" to it. That the University at Oxford and Cambridge, although temporarily obscured, has in our day been recognised as the older, stronger, and sounder institution of the two, that separate college teaching has proved a failure, and that the University has been summoned to resume its functions, and to accept an endowment at the expense of the colleges,—this was a chapter in English University history which the statesmen of 1835 could not be expected to fore-read. But neither can they have anticipated the move in the opposite direction which took place, before the generation of its founders had vanished, in the institution which they were engaged in founding. For complete affiliation, two things are necessary ; a representation of the affiliating body in the administration of the affiliated bodies, and a representation of the affiliated bodies in the administration of the affiliating body. Neither of these was provided for. The first was clearly impossible where the affiliated institutions might be scattered over the world ; the second could only have been provided when they were within reasonable distance. To avoid the appearance of partiality, all were alike excluded, in the trust—a trust that has proved unfounded—that eminent teachers in sufficient numbers would, in their individual capacity, become members of the Senate. From the first, therefore, the so-called affiliation consisted merely

of this, that the students from affiliated institutions had the exclusive right to be examined. But in this form it had no vitality, and did not long continue. The line between institutions that should be or should not be, in this sense, affiliated proved impossible of adjustment. To an institution that had no work to do but that of examination, it could not but seem illogical to require any further qualification of its customers than that of being willing to pass an examination. Private students, if able to beat the regularly trained students, had surely the right to try. Accordingly, before long, the doors were thrown open, and the last vestige of recognition for the value of University functions, properly so-called, vanished from the system of the London University.

It is, to say the least, unlucky that the name of University of London should have been carried off, together with right to confer degrees, by a mere examining board. Names go for a great deal in this world. It is pleasant to be taught ; it is unpleasant to be examined. No institution enlists more enthusiasm from students than the "Alma Mater" which educated them : none less than "the Mill," in which they are passed or plucked. How much of popular sympathy has thus been lost to the cause of Higher Education, who shall say ?

Although the interference of such an institution with teaching must necessarily be considerable, its influence, in the direction of drawing new students within the pale of culture, appears questionable. The appeal in such a case lies to experience. In London there are two institutions embodying the principle of giving degrees upon the mere results of examination. The older confers degrees only in theology, and is situated at Lambeth. The younger and larger confers all degrees except in theology, is called the London University, and is situated at Burlington House. Of Lambeth it has never been asserted that the institution has exercised, or is calculated to exercise, any influence on education. How does this stand in the case of Burlington House ?

It will be convenient to confine the investigation to London. I do not deny, I do not mean to ignore, that the London University has a larger sphere of influence, co-extensive with, if not exceeding in dimensions, the British Empire itself. But its influence on education in remote regions must of necessity be less than on the spot. Moreover, it is of too vague, and in most places of too recent a description to admit of appreciation. In London were situated the teaching institutions out of which, as we have seen, the University grew. In London the system has been at work for nearly fifty years without interference from the intrusion of any rival principle. Here, I think, if anywhere, are valuable conclusions to be drawn from our experience of its operation.

The number of candidates is undoubtedly large. As many as 1760, collected from schools and colleges in London, England, and the Colonies, with a considerable sprinkling of private students, were last year examined for what is incorrectly called Matriculation. This examination roughly corresponds to the "Little Go" at Oxford and Cambridge, but the standard is somewhat higher. Nearly half the candidates are plucked. The remainder, say 970, constitutes this year's entry of the London University. Their average age is $19\frac{3}{4}$; about the same as that of "Little Go" candidates elsewhere. On an average after $3\frac{1}{2}$ years they come up, not for a degree, but for a so-called intermediate examination, which rather more than half of them can pass. The survivors, after two more years, at an average age of 25 or 26, come up for a Bachelor degree in Arts, Laws, or Science, which something under 180 last year obtained. Adding about 60 medical graduates, the total number is 240, under one-half of the number of those who passed their matriculation 6 years ago. The higher degrees are sought for and obtained chiefly by candidates who are verging on middle age. This unusual maturity is a unique phenomenon in examinations. Regarding the University as having been founded, in part, to meet the case of poorer students, it is an eminently unsatisfactory

one. It shows that in respect of the great want of the English middle class—an institution that shall receive boys from the middle or second grade schools, at 17 or even at 16, shall give them University teaching, suitable for such as are about to be engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits, and dismiss them, with the stamp of a degree, at 19 at latest, to earn their livelihood, the University of London is even further from supplying the need than Oxford and Cambridge, with their new developments, such as Cavendish College and the non-collegiate students.

The number of candidates is year by year increasing ; but this increase is wholly due to the local extension which has been given to the system. The number of London trained students has been, so far as I have been able to ascertain, stationary during the last twenty-five years. I have selected for analysis one of the sets of returns which are printed in the Calendar ; that of the honours obtained by London-trained students and by outsiders respectively, in the intermediate examinations, from 1859 to 1884. (See Table facing p. 258.) I do not know that any fair objection can be raised to this table, as a specimen of the results of the system upon the higher education in London. I omit the medical faculty from my analysis, as necessarily consisting, for the most part, of the students in London hospitals, and depending rather upon their efficiency than on the popularity of the University system, to provide it with candidates.

From this table it appears that (omitting medicine) the number of candidates for the intermediate examinations, who have obtained honours, is, so far as those are concerned who have been trained in any London institution, absolutely stationary, except only where an alteration of the system has led to an immediate increase, not affecting the consideration of the question in hand. The notable alterations have been those of 1867-69, whereby the science examination was divided into special subjects, and honours in law were first awarded ; and that of 1878, taking full effect in 1882, whereby women were admitted to the honours of the University. It is evident from the table that the

average remained stationary at 17 for the first of these periods, of which 14 was due to languages. In the second period languages remained stationary at 14, while science rose at once from 3 or 4 to 22, and has remained at that average ever since. The last two years show an increase all round, except in law, which is due to the women, who were first admitted to matriculation in 1879.

In the meantime the external candidates, among whom I include private students, have increased enormously. The increase has been steadily continuous all round, except in law. (See following Table.)

	1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
Languages .	5	8	5	6	9	14	22	16	14	21	20	22	16
Laws . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	4	3	11
Sciences .	2	1	3	6	5	4	2	4	8	13	5	5	12
Total .	7	9	8	12	14	18	24	20	29	37	29	30	39

	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.
Languages .	17	15	15	29	22	29	30	43	38	42	36	51
Laws . .	11	7	11	6	17	10	15	13	10	5	9	4
Sciences .	12	15	23	16	16	17	12	12	28	24	27	22
Total .	40	37	49	51	55	56	57	68	76	71	72	77

It is observable, further, that the School of Law appears to consist in a great majority of private students.

Meanwhile this generation has been a generation of almost unparalleled educational development. From elementary schools to Universities, the country has swarmed with new foundations: municipal funds, private bounty, State aid, have been lavishly afforded. It cannot be considered satisfactory that only in London, and in London

only in the University, the number of students should be stationary. The returns of the two principal University teaching institutions give a similar result. I do not think it is necessary to proceed further in order to justify the conclusion that a new system is imperatively called for in the interests of higher education in London.

Let me conclude by pointing out a truly fatal result of the system in which there is no connection between examinations and teaching. By an examination, properly conducted, it is possible, of course, to test the merit of the teaching in various institutions, and thus to afford a stimulus to education. But the true intention of it is to test merit in the examinee, and thereby to add an incentive to study. The two objects are different, and require different kinds of examination papers. The first may legitimately deal with "seen" work; the second should rely chiefly upon unseen. The business of the first may be to encourage good methods, as embodied in good text-books, by asking the questions to which they give the answer; the business of the second is to test intelligence, as occupied with the material of acquired knowledge. Now, in order to examine fairly, on a single paper, students from all schools and all quarters of the world, either the papers must be confined to that for which all have been prepared, or an attempt must be made to cover all the ground which any of them may legitimately be supposed to have covered. The first plan tends unduly to narrow, the second unduly to extend, the field of examination. Both evils have been detected in the examination of the University of London. In order to avoid them, recourse is had to a device recommended by the false analogy of examinations established for the other purpose above-mentioned—for the improvement, namely, of schools. It is the fatal one of "setting books," of dictating the lines and methods of instruction, by means of examination papers, and regulations for examination. This injures examination as a test of merit in the scholar: it is no compensation that it tests the docility of the teacher. It introduces cram, and discourages intelligent study.

However defensible it may have been that in the melancholy state to which the secondary schools of this country had fallen, the Universities should institute local examinations on this plan for the avowed purpose of improving them, it seems to savour somewhat of presumption when a committee, principally consisting of educational amateurs, undertakes to prescribe the course of instruction to the Universities, or University colleges, of the country. The feeling of dissatisfaction which pervades the educational profession, thus cramped and hampered in its work, has begun to find articulate expression.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is not asked that each separate teacher or body of teachers should examine, and confer a degree upon his or their own pupils. It is not recommended that all examiners should be teachers, or that no one should have a seat on the University governing body except teachers only and examiners. What appears indefensible in our present system is, that the teaching bodies, as such, have no part in the administration of the University which examines: what is recommended is, that the same body, one embodying a substantial representation of the teaching profession, should regulate, at the same time, the University teaching and the University examinations which test and govern it. If this system is incompatible with the examination of outsiders, we cannot help that. The examination of outsiders may continue, but it must not be allowed to stop the way. This Conference will indeed have done good work, if it inaugurates a successful movement for the institution of a Teaching University for London.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) was very glad to see that the section was honoured with the presence of Mons. Dumont, to whom he had to tender an apology for his paper having been read the previous day. Had they known that he would

TABLE of HONOURS (MEDICINE excluded) obtained by LONDON TRAINED STUDENTS in the INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATIONS.

	OLD SYSTEM.										Average.	NEW SYSTEM: Sciences taken separately.															Average.	Admission of Women in full Operation.		Average.
	1859	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.		1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	Women first Admitted. 1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.				
Latin	4	5	4	3	5	1	7	3	5	..	6	11	6	4	8	6	..	5	4	2	3	4	2	..	..	7	2	..		
English	7	6	4	5	3	3	2	1	5	..	5	5	5	4	10	6	4	9	4	5	1	3	6	8	..	4	10	..		
French	5	4	3	6	4	2	4	3	4	..	6	4	4	4	4	5	2	5	1	1	6	4	4	4	..	9	8	..		
German	5	4	3	2	3	2	..	..	2	..	1	2	2	3	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	3	1	3	..	5	5	..		
Languages	21	19	14	16	15	8	13	7	16	14'3	18	22	17	15	22	18	6	21	9	9	10	14	13	15	14'9	25	25	25		
Laws	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	..	5	6	2	5	1	2'5	3	2	2'5		
(Arts) Mathematics	2	3	3	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	1	5	..	1	2	1	1	2	..	1	2	..		
Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Biology	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Chemistry and Natural Philosophy	..	..	1	1	1	4	2	2	2	..	8	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Botany	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	11	3	2	2	5	4	8	7	5	3	4	4	8	..	6	5	..		
Zoology	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	6	6	3	4	6	9	10	6	5	11	5	6	6	..	3	3	..		
Chemistry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	5	9	7	9	4	5	4	7	11	2	..	6	10	..		
Experimental physics	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	1	7	3	5	5	11	5	4	..	9	5	..		
Sciences	2	3	5	3	3	4	2	4	5	3'4	22	24	17	13	11	24	22	39	20	21	25	28	27	22	22'5	25	25	25		
Total	23	22	19	19	18	12	15	11	22	17'8	42	47	35	30	35	46	30	62	29	35	41	44	45	38	39'9	53	52	52'5		

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now be present, of course they would not have read in his absence his very interesting paper, or it might rather be called exhaustive report on higher education in France, but would have waited until to-day. The programme had been drawn up some time ago with very great trouble, and that must be their apology. Perhaps the best way Mons. Dumont could show that he returned good for evil would be by addressing to them some observations on higher education in Paris. It need hardly be said how much was done in that direction in Paris, and how what was done there re-acted, or ought to re-act, upon what he was sorry to say was not done in London.

Mons. A. DUMONT, Member of the Institute, and Director of Higher Education, briefly described the recent modifications introduced in the system of examination for the different academic degrees, and also the important sacrifices made by the State to create scholarships in view of aiding undergraduates to read for higher degrees. Though in France the examining body in the *Facultés* is generally the same as the teaching body, he was of opinion that the system of the separation of the two elements might also be supported on good grounds. In conclusion, referring to the dangers of cramming and to the mode of conducting examinations, he summed up his views by saying:—Let the candidate learn how he likes and what he likes, that is of no great concern; but let him prove to me on the day of examination that what he knows he has learnt thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN invited Dr. Markusovsky, the Delegate of the Hungarian Government, to give the Conference some details of what was going on both in Austria and in Hungary with respect to the conduct of examinations and teaching, and the relations of both to the State.

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY doubted whether he could express himself sufficiently precisely in English, and begged to be allowed to address the Conference in German. He said that concerning the question what curriculum is required of a student to be admissible to a University, he begged to observe that in Hungary as well as in Austria, and, as far

as he knew, in Germany, the student must have finished a course of eight years' study at a Gymnasium or Realschule, and have passed a final examination upon the completion of the same. A student of a realschule was obliged, besides, to pass an extra examination in subjects not compulsory at this class of school, especially in Greek and Latin. It was only exceptionally that, by the special permission of the Ministry, such students as had had no middle-class education, but had given in some other way unquestionable evidence of a due qualification, were admitted to the Universities. Such cases, however, were very rare. As an irregular, or exceptional student, every well-educated man could attend the University lectures.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) said the remarkable point in Dr. Markusovsky's communication was that in Austria the system which now prevails in London of dissociating examinations from teaching had been tried, and had completely failed, and they had returned to the system of letting the examinations be conducted by those who gave the education. That was being done at all the Universities. The only matter in addition to that was, that when a man obtained an appointment in any department of the public service there was the additional examination to be gone through, which was conducted by a mixed body of persons employed by the State—judges and lawyers, for instance, and the professors of the legal faculty. Those were the main points of a very interesting communication which had been made. He invited Dr. Heinemann to speak upon this special point, of the relation between the Universities and the civil services in Germany.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN said those who intended to become civil servants of the higher grade in Prussia must frequent "the Gymnasium." They must pass the "Abiturienten-examen." Having done so, they go the University. In the gymnasium the Greek and Latin languages form the most important parts of the curriculum, which contains also mathematics, modern languages, history, geography, &c. Those who intended to become lawyers, clergymen, teachers

at the higher schools, medical men, &c., had to undergo the same training. The Abiturienten-examen, or leaving examination, was held at "the gymnasium." The examiners were professors and teachers who taught the examinee, whilst he was a pupil of the highest form. The examination took place in the presence of "the Schulrath." Having been a member of a University for three, four, or more years, the student had to pass "the Staatsexamina." They were held under the auspices of a body consisting of University professors. *Gerichtsräthe* constituted the examining body for students of the Faculty of Laws. A section of the public in Germany had repeatedly expressed the opinion that a medical practitioner, for instance, could do very well without having gone through the curriculum of a gymnasium. But the notion prevailed in Germany that members of the so-called learned or liberal professions should have received a classical education.

The CHAIRMAN inquired whether certain privileges had not been lately conferred as regards scientific teaching at the university.

Dr. HEINEMANN said that certain privileges had been conferred in 1869, viz., pupils of the Real- and Gewerbeschulen who had passed the Abiturienten-examen, or leaving examination, were now admitted to some of the "Facultäts-studien," but not to all. They were admitted to the Philosophical Faculty (Department) of a Prussian University for the purpose of studying mathematics, or any of the physical or natural sciences, or modern foreign languages. All the other Faculties or Departments were closed to the former Real- and Gewerbeschülern. In 1880 36 professors of the Philosophical Faculty of Berlin stated an experience of ten years had taught them that the Gymnasium turned out much better trained minds than the Real- or Gewerbeschule. In other words, 36 professors of the Philosophical Faculty in Berlin had declared themselves in favour of classical training.

Lord REAY desired to have this extremely important point made quite clear, and he therefore would like to ask,

whether the course of studies at the Real-Schulen opened the door in Austria as the course of studies at the Gymnasium did in Germany?

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY said that in Hungary it was only necessary, to become a lawyer or a medical man, to pass examinations in Latin and Greek, if the student had finished his course at the Schulen.

The CHAIRMAN asked whether that examination was merely a matter of form, or whether it was an important examination?

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY said it was not very important as far as regarded the first examination.

The CHAIRMAN said that the rule was now quite clear, and that in both countries the door to the learned professions was not opened unless the student had acquired some knowledge of the old languages. He would call on Professor Morley to speak on the subject of the London University.

Professor MORLEY said the most useful plan to-day probably would be to repeat in a few words the main ideas of the paper he had read on Monday last. He was asked to deal with the Faculty of Arts, and to suggest how degrees should be taken, and so forth. That required him to work out the practice of the teaching of the University of London as he thought it ought to be; and as he was most entirely at one with Sir George Young in all that that gentleman had said in his paper, it seemed to him very useless to sketch a Faculty of Arts upon the present lines. He preferred, therefore, to take the lines of the future teaching University, which was now so strongly desired, and which he might venture to prophesy, if Lord Reay would continue to give his energetic aid in the matter, they would, within two or three years, have in London. The outline he suggested was, of course, a scheme merely put forward as a basis of discussion. If one were to do anything at all in the matter, somebody must first sketch out a plan. It might be cut up or knocked to pieces and altered in any way; but at any rate, it would be

a basis of discussion. Without being bound in his own mind in any way to any one of the ideas so pointed out he had suggested that plan. It was in harmony with the systems at work in Germany and France, but it would be impossible altogether to impose foreign systems on our method of teaching. The system here was to take things as they were, and they should endeavour, for that was all they could do, to bring them as much as possible into harmony with the best spirit they could find in Europe, and see how they could harmonize their own system with what they found there. The first thing to be observed was, that we had all the materials for a great teaching University. One could not come into this building at South Kensington without observing how many institutions for the higher education were existing about us, and we therefore had many of the elements at hand for a great teaching University. He need not say anything more than had been said by Mr. Jordan, with regard to good teaching colleges, King's College and University College, in which there was an abundance of means for teaching organised in those separate centres. There must always be a determination of the best teaching power to the Metropolis. Then having among us the materials out of which to make such an University, the question was whether we could bring together into one system all the elements that we actually had, and the purpose of his suggestion was entirely to aim at the working out of that problem.

At the root of his suggestion lay the University Chamber. The existing University of London, as it had been described, had a distinct function, and as Sir George Young had pointed out, the development of its influence extended all over the empire, and was not confined to London. The point which had been brought out by Sir George Young's paper chiefly was, that there had been little real advance on the system in London; but to a great extent the growth of the University had been due to the drawing in of men from the provinces and colonies. This was producing a very large *clientèle*; but

left London itself unaffected, and the progress there had been very small.

Perhaps he might indicate the defect of an examining University as it had come home to him, taking his own experience as an examiner, for during ten years he had been an examiner in English at the University. At the beginning of his experience some time ago, there was a little modification made; but that modification had been away from the direction of good teaching. All was done with the best intention, but it was distinctly adverse to good teaching. As the number of private students increased (those who expected to be lonely workers, and then to pass their examinations), this doubt arose, whether, when the examiners set examination papers, the questions which were asked were questions which could be answered by somebody living in the dales of Yorkshire, probably working by himself, with very few books accessible. The doubt was whether he could get the necessary text-books, by means of which to answer given questions, and where he could not, the examiner must not ask such questions. The college student came to London, and had around him here fine libraries, as he had in Cambridge or in Oxford. He not only had this advantage, but he was introduced to the thoughts of those who came into association with him, and he received a liberal training which might be broadly tested; but for a man working in isolation, who had nothing but the books he could get from his country bookseller, the case was different. The increase in the number of good text-books in English was very slight, and at present it was necessary for students to refer to the text-books in German. Every advanced student in English really must know German or stay behind, because the best books—best English grammars even—were in German, and in some directions the best studies of English were to a large extent produced in Germany. If a private student had to be examined in Shakespeare, he must have one of the plays of Shakespeare which had been edited at the Clarendon Press, and which he must get up simply mechani-

cally, and after all he might know little about Shakespeare when he had done. The whole course of examination was liable to be too much confined to books of that kind. If an examiner set as matter of examination books of the period given for especial study, his choice would be limited to books which happened to be edited for schools ; the number of these was very small, and the number of those which were well edited was smaller still. Even after what had been done by help of the few English books which were obtainable, the objection to such an examination of lonely students working in isolation was inevitable. It was the function of a purely examining University to test the knowledge obtained in that way. An examination conducted on that principle, which he did not say was a wrong way for its purpose, could not, however, test, and must needs tend to depress, University teaching. In relation to a new system his notion was, that the present organization should be left, subject to any improvement which was found necessary by the Senate, which paid careful attention to the whole subject of examinations. But they needed another system, and that system had as its basis the University Chamber.

In the first place, he suggested a Representative Chamber, which should be a kind of Parliament of education, It would really be the educational parliament of England, because it would represent modern life and modern thought. That central chamber he would have elected by the teaching bodies in London, which were recognized as giving a higher training than the ordinary school training. He did not know that the present matriculation examination would require to be modified very greatly, and it might be allowed to stand as a test of the school training that must precede studies in the University. It was a bad test, only as all examinations of the kind were bad. It had been suggested in the discussion that the certificate of the headmaster of a good school should be taken as an equivalent for matriculation, and to that he had no objection. There were difficulties, of course, but there was no reason why the

London University should not be trusted to say what schools should be allowed to pass their best students themselves. Many schools would not be allowed to do so, of course, without considerable modification of their standards; but if there were such permission granted, it might, as had been said by the Chairman, be a stimulus to the schools themselves; and they would feel it necessary to raise their standards. Then that Representative Chamber could appoint committees, special or general, to take part in any way in advance of the higher education, and the Central Chamber itself he would divide into Faculties.

There had been a discussion concerning the Faculties, and the right number of Faculties. What was meant by a Faculty in England? It was simply a practical subdivision of work. He felt very strongly indeed in agreement with the representative from Belgium, who spoke of the solidarity of all knowledge. If all knowledge could be collected, and if it could be brought together in one single great mind, no doubt it would harmonise like one great note of music; but of course that was impossible, and there must be subdivision, and they must sub-divide practically in their management of college work. For that purpose he suggested the creation of eight or ten sub-divisions, and this could be done without any contradiction of the grand principle laid down. A great man of science was only a little removed from a great poet; their work was much akin, and science was only poetry manifest in another form. He would have Faculties working in that way; and then according to the work done by any educational institution would be the determination of the Faculty of the Chamber to which any of its representatives were sent. They had a carefully organised College of Music, and by that means they might restore music to its place amongst the sciences. The College of Music would have its representatives in what would be called the Faculty of Music, and to each of the Faculties the elections by any college would be in proportion to the number of its students in such Faculty, so that a large college would have more representatives

than a small one, but still the smallest college would have its representative. Every college containing, say, fifty students, would send at least one representative ; and then for any number more than one hundred another representative ; and for fractions over fifty beyond the first hundred they should have another representative. In that University Chamber he would deposit all the power of the Teaching University. It would be to the Teaching University what the Senate of the University of London, as it now stood, was to the Examining University, and he saw no reason at all why the University of London as an examining University should not receive into itself, as its missing three-fourths, the new teaching University. He hoped the present Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of London would remain the chancellor and vice-chancellor respectively of the new part of the University. The work of the examinations open to all the world would be left under careful guidance of the Senate, just as it now stands, while the new machinery of the Teaching University would be controlled by the University Chamber. The work of the University here, as in Germany, should consist mainly of teaching. The colleges might send whom they pleased as their representatives ; and it might be that they would send some great men in the educational world who might be asked to represent them, and they would no doubt be able to get the best men in the educational world in London.

His suggestion with regard to graduation was a seven years' course, leading to the M.A. degree ; an eight years' course, they had just been told, was the period in Germany, but he would say a seven years' course. It had been suggested that this was too much, but they knew that young men in London did not take their M.A., on the average, until they were twenty-four. It was fair to get the M.A. degree at twenty-four, and after a continuous course of training that period of seven years should be enough. A young man who begins life before twenty-four usually gets into some difficulties, and on the whole they found that age really early enough to begin life. The young men

in the City of London in olden times used not to be considered of age until they were twenty-four; and a young tradesman, even if he had come to legal age, was not held to have completed his apprenticeship until he was twenty-four. So now if a student began at seventeen he could get his M.A. at twenty-four, and if he began at sixteen he could get it at twenty-three.

Then he would propose to associate the graduation entirely with the teaching; but with a clear and safe check against unfairness on the part of any teaching institution or of any teacher in securing graduation for students. Bearing in mind that there was to be that check, he would make the graduation depend upon the results of actual study, without any final examination at all. For that he suggested a method of three Passes, which might be called simply the First Pass, the Second Pass, and the Third Pass. Five subjects should be studied seriously after obtaining the proper certificate from a school, and the First Pass should be obtained in each of them, after a two years' course of college work in that subject, from the teacher as the result of a successful examination. When the five subjects had been passed, and the certificates obtained within not less than three years, all that would be required more would be a certificate of good character from the five teachers who had given those Passes, and that would at once give the B.A. degree. The degrees of B.A. and M.A. he would take as they always had been, as simple signs of culture, for the words themselves "Bachelor of Arts" and "Master of Arts" meant nothing at all; they might be simply taken as old traditional names which stood for general culture. In three years at least the B.A. degree could be taken. Of those five subjects, four might be made compulsory. Of course the number might be open to discussion, but of the four two should be on the side of Literature, and two on the side of Science. The two on the side of literature should be Latin, and in any country the language of that country—in England, of course, it would be English. Such a form of English study would then be

given as was barely known in England now, although it was well known of French in France, and perhaps still better known of German in Germany, where there was a system which was not approached in our ordinary educational course in England. There should be a high standard of teaching, therefore, in our own language. No doubt Greek compared with Latin was the higher language as regarded literary culture, when well learnt, but he should doubt whether there were many in England whose introduction to Greek literature and thought gave that higher training which came from full contact with the Greek mind. Such full contact was of surpassing value, but a teaching or a time for study that gave very much less than this might better be spent on Latin, because the Latin had so many practical uses in life that an educated man could not dispense with it. On the other side, he would suggest Mathematics for a training in the exact sciences, and one physical science. He did not believe in a liberal education in which good training in some natural science was not included. Then that would leave the fifth study open, which might be adopted according to the natural bent of the student. By giving only two of the three years of training to each of the four compulsory subjects, another four years of study would be left open which should also be given to optional work. He would add that the school studies of French and German should be continued during work for the B.A. passes. In preparing for the M.A. degree the study of some subject should be carried further, and there would be more strict examination in them. German would be required, but more option would be allowed in choosing the subjects of stricter examination in the Second Passes that, during at least another four years of study, qualify for the M.A. degree. The particular bent of a man's tendency of thought would manifest itself in some direction, and in whatever direction that was followed it would lead, if desired, to a Third Pass. So that the student would in that way obtain in relation with these teaching bodies the B.A. and M.A. degree as a sign of culture, and

within the same seven years attain through a Third Pass the degree of Doctor in the study to which he especially devotes his life.

With regard to testing by these examinations, if colleges were left to manufacture graduates themselves, there might be a temptation to manufacture a great number of them, and that should, of course, be made impossible. The examination papers, and the answers to them, for the first, second, and third passes should be sent to the representative chamber. They should be submitted by the chamber to the faculty to which they specially belong, and they should be carefully examined. Not only the questions, but also the answers should be looked to, because it was very easy for a teacher to write a paper of questions, and to look very learned indeed, but when it was seen what kind of answers he was satisfied with, it might be found perhaps that his learning was not so great after all. If it were found in any college that the examination pass was below the standard, then that also would be provided for. If it was not much below, the attention of the teacher would be simply called to it. If it was considerably below, the attention of the college should be called to it; and if it were very much below, and if it were thought necessary, there should be a suspension of that class in the University, and the teacher and the class should not be allowed to give passes for the University until that defect was remedied. That would be sufficient provision to secure a fair standard in the teaching, and at the same time such representatives would themselves be teachers, and the delegates of trained teachers, their influence would be paramount, and the originality of the teacher in his work would not be interfered with.

Dr. BOSSCHA, the Netherland Delegate, said:—As I have only to give some information, and not to keep up a discussion, I will try to make use of the English language, though I feel all the difficulties of having to express myself in a language which is not my own. To be sincere, I ought to add that I should also feel myself rather uneasy if I had to

carry on a discussion about education on general principles, even if I could make use of my own language ; perhaps because I am aware of having done rather much in that direction about twenty or thirty years ago. At that time we in Holland had still to be educated in education, at least in education according to the more modern ideas, and with the more modern resources. Since that time we have made much progress. We have now what we entirely lacked before 1863, a well-regulated system of secondary instruction in about seventy "Hoogere burgerscholen," thirty-six of which are equal to the so-called "Real-schule" in Germany, with laboratories for physics and chemistry, with collections of natural history objects, completely arranged for instruction in the natural sciences. What has been done for education in the last few years will be clear to anyone if I mention that the annual supply for education from the expenditure of the State and of the different municipalities has risen to 17,000,000 guilders, on a population which is about equal to four-fifths of that of London. The academical instruction is represented by four Universities, each of which has its five faculties, namely, divinity, jurisprudence, medicine, physics, and mathematics, and literature and philosophy. As regards the question brought forward by Sir George Young, that it is desirable that London should have a real University, *e.g.*, an instructing University, you do not expect from me the too easy argument that because the population of the Netherlands is to that of London as four to five, and as the Netherlands have four Universities, London ought to have five. For that purpose we should have to examine at once whether four Universities for the Netherlands are not too many. And this seems doubtless to be the case. In 1876, when the new law on University education was being discussed in the Second Chamber, the almost general opinion was that three Universities were too much for our country. Still the result of the discussions of the legislative body was that instead of three there would be four Universities in the Netherlands. The explanation of this seeming contradictoriness must be sought in the fact, to which I

would call your attention, that the town of Amsterdam had come to the conclusion that they could not be without a University, and would establish one at their own expense, and that, moreover, this wish met with general assent, so much so that the Amsterdam University obtained by law the power to confer degrees to which the same rights would be attached as to those obtained at the State Universities. All the arguments which led Amsterdam to be considered as the place by excellence where a University ought to be established, can be brought forward in a higher degree for London. How much intellectual power is here together in your great learned men and in the numerous scientific societies ; how many important resources are here present in the rich museums, botanical and zoological gardens, libraries and collections of all kinds ; and how much is a town which is the centre of all interests and of the activity in all parts of the world, fit above all other towns to be the see of a University, if at least a University aims not only at forming abstract savants, and at the study of speculative sciences and quiet contemplation, but is in the first place a school for real life, a workshop for that really human science, which does not consider anything that is human strange to itself. Indeed, if the world had only one University, that University ought to be London. As regards the points more especially dwelt upon by Sir George Young, the necessity that examining bodies must consist of teachers, I can give some evidence from the experience of the last twenty years. A very extensive application of the system of examinations has been made in the law on secondary instruction, and it has been accepted as a general rule that all examinations which lead to the conferring of any privilege, however small, must be passed before a State Commission, to be appointed by the minister. A great deal has been said against examinations, and there is no denying the fact that they can indeed do much harm, that they can be a very hindering tie to the education, that they can be prejudicial to its free development and thus prevent it. But however much everyone who has been

able to observe the influence of examinations must be convinced of this, I must still take it as the result of experience, that without examinations, and even severe examinations, the new regulation of secondary instruction in Holland would not have borne the really good fruit in which we rejoice. But the reason for this is a particular one which cannot always be brought forward. When the new regulation of secondary instruction came into operation, we had nothing that was like real secondary instruction. The standard of general knowledge of our youths of the age of about 17 or 18 years was at that time lamentably low. And this evil was so deep-rooted, that people, even those belonging to the respectable classes, were hardly aware of it. A law which contained simply a nomenclature of the different branches of knowledge which would be taught in the new schools could not remedy it. Everything depended on the execution, and this could not be better done than by indicating the scale of necessary knowledge, and maintaining it with inexorable severity by examinations. In this way the increased exertions of teachers as well as of scholars were obtained, which were at that time the first requirement to get at the so necessary transition to an entirely new condition. However, after a period of transition, now better ideas and certain traditions of the necessary extent of knowledge have been established, more can be left to the personal views of the teachers, and that this *ought* to take place, where it can take place without harm, is beyond question. In our country the commissions for the examinations to be appointed by the State can consist of persons who have not taught the candidates to be examined, and even of persons who have nothing to do with education. At the outset this was really the case. Gradually we have come back from this. Experience has so clearly shown that a precise judgment of the measure of knowledge obtained is only possible if the examination is conducted by those who are not only practically experienced in education, but also possess beforehand the necessary information on the branch of education under

consideration, on the disposition and the faculties of the candidates, that the composition of the examination commissions has been gradually altered as if by itself, and as if forced by the evidence, so that at present the teachers almost always are in the majority. The presence in those commissions of some members who are not teachers seems sufficient to guard against abuse. Every commission must report on their proceedings to the authority who appointed them. Every member of a commission has the right to insert in the report such observations as he may deem useful. In this way every abuse can be made public and be brought to the notice of the Minister of the Interior, who is charged with the execution of the laws on public instruction.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) remarked that to make the discussion, which had hitherto been very representative, as much more representative as possible, as they had heard a representative of University College, and he saw Professor Waugh, the representative of King's College, present, he would invite him to give the meeting some of the results of his experience in that college, which was as much interested in this important matter as University College.

Professor WAUGH had not had the good fortune to hear the whole of the papers and remarks, and was hardly, therefore, in a position to address the meeting on the subject.

Professor CAREY FOSTER thought they might all congratulate themselves on the fortunate circumstance that Lord Reay and Sir George Young were giving their attention to this important subject—the formation of a real University for London. The question was one of the most important that could be discussed in connection with English education. There was one obvious difficulty in the matter, namely, the constitution of the body at present known as the University of London. However, they might consider that the defects of the London University system had already been recognized by the State. When the Victoria University was incorporated, the incorporation of

that institution was really an admission of the inadequacy of the London University. Apart from local considerations of no very great weight, the really substantial ground upon which the Victoria University was established was the importance of having an organic connection between the teaching colleges and the bodies by which that teaching was to be tested and recognized. Such connection between the colleges and the universities had, in fact, formed the subject of Sir George Young's paper, and they might press the establishment of the Victoria University as an argument in favour of the system he advocated, if it was necessary to have a precedent for further change. There was one point with which he had been struck in the discussion, and that was, that it had turned almost exclusively upon degrees, and the way in which such distinctions should be given. A degree was simply an authoritative stamp affixed to the results of teaching, and was, after all, an unimportant matter as compared with the teaching itself. He had hoped that they would have some fuller suggestion than had yet been made as to the reorganisation of the enormous teaching power which already existed in London, though in a scattered and somewhat inorganic condition. The greater part of the suggestions which had been made had regard to the improvement of examining bodies, and chiefly to an improved system of graduation. Professor Morley required that graduates, under his new system, should have undergone a college course; this of itself would lead to a very different state of things from that which we had at present. There was one point upon which there should be an attempt made to reorganize such teaching as we had in London, and that was to make it much more accessible than it was at present to persons whose means were not very ample; that was to say, it would be needful to do in reality what had been so very meritoriously attempted by the so-called University Extension scheme. University teaching had already existed in London for fifty years, though in a somewhat imperfect and crippled condition. The real extension required was

to develop and give increased facilities for systematic university teaching, and to ensure that such teaching should be accessible to all who have the capacity and the will to undertake serious and continuous courses of study. For this end, he thought that one of the great wants, though this was a subject which might not come very well from a professor, was the endowment of professorships. There had been a discussion the previous day upon the question of endowments in connection with the University Extension scheme, and it was suggested that all educational endowments, instead of being serviceable to the poorer classes, were sure, sooner or later, to be monopolised by those who were able to pay for the best coaching. He believed that was, to a considerable extent, the result of such endowments having chiefly taken the form of scholarships and exhibitions for pupils. If there were endowments made for professorships, so as to enable a man to devote his time to teaching and investigation without charging more than an almost nominal fee for his instruction or lectures, the teaching would be practically open to every one, and the endowment of the professorship would thus be a benefit to everybody. In fact the endowment of professorships would really be a more popular and useful form of devoting money for educational purposes than its exclusive employment in the endowment of scholarships and exhibitions, which had hitherto generally been the case. It might be said that a professor who had an endowment, instead of being obliged to depend upon his fees alone, would be apt to get lazy and neglect his work, but the safeguard against that was, he believed, the system which existed in the German Universities, where, besides the regularly endowed university professors, there were the so-called *Privat-docenten*, or young men who, having satisfied the university authorities as to their possession of the necessary qualifications, were recognized by them as authorised university teachers. These *Privat-docenten* received no endowment from the University, but charged such fees as they thought proper, and got such students as

they could. Attendance upon their lectures was recognised as qualifying their pupils for the University examinations. Where a professor was thoroughly efficient, a *Privat-docent* rarely competed with him upon his own ground, but usually chose for his own lectures some special branch of learning or science, supplementary to those of the professor; but if a professor were negligent or past his work, it might quite well happen that a large part of his class would be drawn away by a brilliant young *Privat-docent*. The competition thus arising afforded as effectual a safeguard as it was easy to imagine against the possible evils resulting from an endowed professoriate.

Mr. TAYLOR, of the High School, Philadelphia, thought it was plain from what had been stated, that France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Holland, were all agreed that it was best to have a university which should teach and also examine; therefore it was no use taking up any more time with that. He was very much gratified with the papers, and also with the discussion which had followed upon them. For a great many years he had been trying to find out exactly what this thing, this so-called University in London, was. It was something like the study of the geography of the German principalities before Germany was united—you could never be certain that you had taken the whole thing in. The Americans could never understand it. It was one of those things which, in the language of Dunderary, "No fellah could understand." But now they were beginning to see some daylight, and to understand what it really was. He would sail for America in a few days with considerable satisfaction, and with a very clear notion that the University of London in reality was the university of the future, and it would very soon take its place among the literary institutions of the world. Upon that there could be little doubt, because they had all the elements at work, or ready to go to work, here now. All that was required was simply that a blow should be struck. Minerva sprang from the brow of Jove by a single blow, and he thought this university was all ready to spring

forth ; it only required one blow, and Pallas Athenæ would come forth, all ready for action and for life. London had in the countries of the West, in India, in Australia, and throughout the world, a larger extent of influence than almost any other great power on the face of the earth. Those people wanted, as he stated yesterday, to visit their mother country, and they wanted to come to London, and remain there, attracted by the various literary and other forces of various kinds that were to be found there. He wanted to know why they should not be at liberty to do that. A great name of a great professor would draw hundreds of students to a German university, and why should not Americans, and other students abroad, be at liberty to come here and listen to those men who stood highest in rank in any department of science. Why should not they have the chance of coming here and listening to a man like Huxley? Why should not they come to London and hear our foremost men in art, in science, or in any department of study? But it was said, "You can hear them in any other of the large cities: you can hear them at Oxford, you can hear them at Cambridge, or at Owen's College, Manchester, or at the Scotch Universities." All he would say in answer to that was, that although they might go there, they did not go. They wanted to come to London, and they wanted to be able to hear the ablest men who would be in London, giving such instruction as so many hundreds of them were so well able to do. But it was said there would be an objection on the part of the other institutions, that was to say, that the older universities—Oxford, Cambridge, and so on, would object to or make opposition. But let them adopt the plan which was adopted at Cornell University, and at the Hopkins University in the United States, of having non-resident professors, and they would get the ablest men from Oxford, Cambridge, Victoria University, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, or wherever they might be. It used to be in the olden time that to go from London to Edinburgh was an undertaking requiring days, sometimes weeks in bad weather ; but now

people were transported from place to place with such rapidity that a man could be a non-resident professor in a London University and yet live in Glasgow, in Edinburgh, in Manchester, or wherever else he happened to be. One other point he wanted to refer to was, that they would find it more easy, in his humble judgment, to get the State's examination in connection with such a high grade education as only the London University would give, without any other plan. He saw no better solution of the problem than that, and if that University were once obtained, they would draw to their examinations people of all the nations, and what better place could there be than London for educational purposes? Supposing a man desired to devote himself to art, he would have all our noble art collections around him. Supposing he desired to devote himself to the study of philology, there could be no better place than London for that purpose. If a man wanted to devote himself to the study of the Greek poets, London was a better place to study them in to-day than either Athens or the plains of Troy. London was a better place to-day to study the Hebrew language and literature than Jerusalem. London was a better place to study art than any other, and he was quite sure they would do a great service to humanity by taking some of these men for their lecturers.

Suppose a man devoted himself to Arabic, what better place could he come to than London? What better place was there than the House of Commons for a man to come to to learn the art of government and statesmanship and parliamentary procedure? He hoped, therefore, that these suggestions would be carried out, and hoped to see the University of London in existence before long.

Mr. STORR said though it was too late to introduce the element of debate, he would just throw out one or two suggestions which Sir George Young would have no difficulty, probably, in answering. First, with regard to the question of matriculation, he would not repeat what had been said about that subject by Professor Morley in his paper, but he might say that though he would be ready to

take the German examination as a model, he would be sorry to see such a system in force if it was to be the only door of entrance into the university. It was a very bad thing for a boy, simply because he had failed in school, that he should be cut off from all chances of public life, including the learned professions and the Civil Service. He had been much struck with what Professor Jenkin had said the other day, that his experience among his Edinburgh classes was that sometimes the best of his pupils were those who developed after the age of puberty; that many stupid boys who were absolutely dull before, took, after that age, a fresh start, and were among some of his most promising students. If we had simply the German system all such boys would be excluded, and he would like to suggest, therefore, that in the new university there should be a double means of entrance. The next question was about the degrees. As Professor Morley had said, they were seemingly a very insignificant matter, yet they might be a rock ahead, if he proposed to maintain the old B.A. and M.A. How were those degrees of the teaching university to be differentiated from the degrees of the existing University of London? Would there not, if new degrees were given by the teaching university, be an apparent note of inferiority in one or the other, which would cause friction between the two bodies? That was a matter which would have to be considered. Another most important point which had been just touched upon by Professor Foster, and which he thought had been mostly in the minds of the promoters of this scheme, was the question of funds; but while they were in a building which represented the munificence of the City companies, there could be no doubt whence the nucleus of the endowment of the London University was to come. Standing in this building of those great City companies, he hoped they would devote a very large proportion of their income without compulsion to such a noble scheme as this, and at any rate, as citizens of London, they had a right to claim a large proportion of those funds for a purpose which

was a fulfilment of the original intention. That was where their sinews of war must come from. Mr. Taylor, the American representative, had spoken of the new university as a Minerva, springing from the head of Jupiter, but he thought a better comparison would be to Danæa, for without a shower of gold descending upon them they certainly could not get their university. The memory of this conference might pass away, but it would be remembered, he thought, for this one thing—though the seed of the London University was not sown here, because it had been sown months ago, yet the first germ of it saw the light in this international conference on education.

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY desired to add, in reference to a remark which had been made, that there was in Hungary and Austria no way into the university without passing the examination, though there were students received into the universities as extra scholars who could study laws, medicine, and other subjects.

Mr. STORR remarked that he had referred to Germany and not to Austria and Hungary.

The CHAIRMAN asked Dr. Heinemann whether there was any better way of doing that in Germany?

Dr. HEINEMANN said the answer must be yes, and no, for if students had been to a gymnasium they would have to go through a higher examination.

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY said they had a similar examination in Hungary. He might go and enter as a scholar at any moment, and he would not have to show his matriculation examination, but he must show a qualification for the special purpose for which he had gone to the university. That was one way, and there were others; for instance, if a student had shown that he had the knowledge required, the examination would be dispensed with for passing the matriculation. The student would either have to pass the matriculation, or pass an examination which would show that he had attained the knowledge required.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) desired to offer the best thanks of the meeting to Sir George Young, for having given

them so good a basis for this interesting discussion. But as it was extremely important that the outside world should thoroughly understand what was really meant, he thought it was his duty to point out that the great importance of the new London University would not lie in the examinations. After what Professor Foster had said this should be made very clear. The main object was to establish a link between the various existing forces in London with reference to higher education. Their object was not to attack any existing body. For instance, they had not the presumption to say that they could improve on such lectures as were given by Professors Bryce and Harrison; their object was simply to say to those men: come into our body, because by so doing you not only will raise the standard of our body, but you will also raise the importance of your lectures. Therefore the great importance of this movement was not so much to create a new order of examinations—he would be sorry if that were suspected—but it was to do justice to the eminent men who in various parts of London were doing excellent work, but did not meet with the full recognition which they would meet with if they were members of the London University. The existing teaching agencies for higher education in London had everything to gain from these efforts. As regarded the results of this meeting, each foreign representative who had spoken had distinctly asserted that a university in a place like London, would be of material advantage to the whole country, and indeed to the whole empire, and he would add to the United States. That was the important conclusion come to from this discussion. They had been told by their foreign friends that if a medical faculty were established in London, that medical faculty must necessarily, with all our hospitals and machinery, become the first medical faculty in the world; he regarded that as testimony the most impartial, coming from eminent foreigners in our midst, and he thanked them heartily for the evidence they had been good enough to give on this occasion. As regarded the weighty words which

had fallen from Mons. Dumont about examinations, there again they had evidence given them by an experienced educationist, that it would be impossible to devise a good system of examinations in the way described. He entirely agreed with what had been indicated, that the examiner ought to say to the men who came before him, in the language of Mons. Dumont, "*Prouvez moi comme vous voulez le fond même des choses,*" that is to say, show that the knowledge which you have is thorough knowledge. They were, he thought, all agreed upon that point; and also with their French and German friends, especially the Germans, who had stated emphatically: Do not dissociate your examinations from your teaching. Let your teachers form part of the examining body. That was also in accordance with the evidence of the representative of Holland, where it had been found absolutely necessary to associate the two. Very encouraging evidence had been given with regard to the university to be established in London, by Dr. Bosscha, who had told them that the municipality of Amsterdam had made immense sacrifices to establish higher education by university teaching in that city. In conclusion, he hoped that the university would be established, would become a great centre of the highest research and learning in full activity when they met again in London.

Sir GEORGE YOUNG, speaking for himself, said he hoped that the doors of the new University of London would be as widely opened as they could be consistently with common sense. It was of course proper, before taking a man's fees, to ascertain that he was not under a mistake as to his capacity to profit by the teaching. The examination referred to was an examination which attested something more than a mere school teaching. They were beginning to think of arranging for a teaching university, and in that case they would not attempt to place a too difficult examination at the door of the university chamber. With regard to the difference which had been referred to between the degrees of the two institutions, he was not at all nervous

about that ; he thought those who had received the degrees of the present University of London should attach honour to them, and justly so, and that those who were interested in founding the new University in London would not be under any misapprehension that their degrees would be in any different position. Speaking on behalf of those who wished to see a proper system of university teaching founded, he might say that he was not afraid on that point. With regard to what Professor Morley had mentioned in the able plan he had projected, he thought too great a distinction had been made between Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the University of London as far as that university had followed, or rather had exaggerated the systems in force at the other universities. He did not mean to say that seven or eight years was too long a time for a man to spend in acquiring knowledge who was desirous of getting full benefit of the curriculum at his university. It would be necessary to spend a great deal on this institution, but something else was required. He wanted to see a university of the middle classes established. Our present universities were universities for the upper classes, not excluding the University of London itself. He had found considerable drawbacks arising from the severance which existed between the second grade schools and the universities. It was not impossible for a boy who had been taught in a bad school at the age of 16 or 17 to go to a university, so that when he got there he was out of place, and found the course of teaching unsuited to him. What he wanted to see was the University of London made catholic enough to include those students, and if they could tap that stratum they would find a flow of students which had perhaps hardly been contemplated. Then they must make the education cheap, and establish a curriculum suited to the young. He looked therefore to see in the near future the realization of what had been alluded to by Professor Foster. He would prefer it to be suited to the younger members of society than to be simply formed on the lines of what was called university teaching. He did not think much of a system

of pecking at university teaching by means of attending at various lectures ; that was not to be called university teaching at all, but students should be induced to come into the university, and to remain there long enough, giving up some of the time which was too often devoted to money making, in order that they might pass through a proper course of university teaching.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) said that if there was to be a Minister of Education, the necessity of whose appointment was the subject of the next paper, he hoped he would give them a London university as his first work. Nobody was more competent to deal with that subject than Lord Lympington, who was a member of the Committee of the House of Commons, which had just issued an important report on the subject.

(The Section adjourned till 2 o'clock.)

On resuming, Lord REAY again occupied the chair.

ON THE NECESSITY FOR A MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

By Viscount LYMPINGTON, M.P.

BEFORE I enter upon the subject-matter of my paper I must disclaim any intention of entering into the abstract questions connected with a Ministry of Education. The State has, in the great Education Act of Mr. Forster, already sanctioned interference with parental responsibility, and claimed the right to treat education as a national necessity. The principle of *laissez-faire* is already abandoned, leaving behind it only the question of degree to which voluntary effort and personal responsibility should remain free from centralising influences.

We are at once confronted by the question whether, if

a Ministry of Education is desirable, it should apply to the United Kingdom, or only to England and Scotland. There are many grounds, if judged by results, for condemning the present educational system in Ireland. It is deplorable that after half a century of national education, forty-one out of every hundred of the people in Ireland above the age of five years cannot yet read and write ; but much as compulsion in Ireland is required it would be impossible at present to secure the efficient working of a compulsory law. You have to start with the initial difficulty of applying compulsion in a Roman Catholic country, which is intensified in Ireland by the political as well as the doctrinal character of the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism. You have also great social difficulties that interfere with that regularity of attendance which is so essential to efficiency—extreme poverty in the West of Ireland, considerable distances over very rough and stony roads to poor children who have no shoes, and lastly, but by no means least, the importable character of their food, such as the potato, or its substitute, in some cases of Indian corn. To attempt to apply compulsion in Ireland in a rigid form, or to press the inclusion of Ireland within the operation of a scheme for the creation of a ministry of education, would involve hardships and raise objections which would, I believe, prove destructive to the practical success of any scheme. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks towards suggesting a scheme that might secure to education in England and Scotland a more effective method of serving its interests.

To take a short review of the Parliamentary history of this question, Sir John Packington, in 1865, moved for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into the constitution of the Committee of Council on Education, and urged, in the course of his speech, that the great duty of superintending the various branches connected with the Department of Education should be entrusted to some one responsible minister—"some minister," to quote his own words, "of high authority, who should have the sole

conduct of that department, and be solely responsible." A committee was appointed in 1865, and re-nominated in 1866. They examined numerous witnesses, and were about to discuss the report, when ministerial changes took place, and the committee consequently decided, though with great regret, that they could not enter with advantage on the discussion of the question. In 1868 the Duke of Marlborough introduced a Bill to create a sixth Secretary of State, who should have the whole range of educational matters under his consideration and control. Lastly, in 1874, Sir Lyon Playfair brought this question before the House of Commons, and urged the importance of creating a Ministry of Education. On that occasion he was supported by Mr. Forster, who, in a powerful speech, pointed out that we have to fight a battle against ignorance, which was a misery to many and a danger to all, and that we were not likely to gain the day unless we had a responsible general.

These are the leading incidents in the Parliamentary history of this question. Every argument adduced in former years is yearly being increased by the force of circumstances. The education office has become a great spending department. In 1856, the sum devoted to Class IV. was £500,000; it has now risen to about five millions. There has been for the last twenty years a steady increase in England and Wales only of more than £100,000 per annum in the Education Vote. At present the President and the Vice-President of the Council stand in a most anomalous relation to each other. The President, with the exception of Lord John Russell, has always been a peer, while the Vice-President has always been a member of the House of Commons. The Vice-President is consulted on all educational questions; the Lord President on all questions of patronage, that is to say, the minister who is responsible for the general policy of education has not the necessary control and selection of those who are instrumental in its efficient and harmonious administration. I would not insist upon this anomaly being rectified by

making any hard and fast rule which would oblige the Minister of Education to be a member of the House of Commons. There is no real objection, to the view intelligently interpreted under a proper system, of the Duke of Richmond who, as President of the Council in the late Government, said :—" I am the Minister of Education, and the Vice-President simply stands in the relation to me of an Under-Secretary of State." Let that be so ; there would be no more practical objection against the Under-Secretary of the Education Department having to present the estimates than there is in the head of the Admiralty—a great spending department—being, as at present, in the House of Lords. Probably, in most cases, the Minister of Education would be in the House of Commons, but in others a peer might be specially qualified by knowledge for such a position. I can only repeat that I should be very sorry to see any obligation imposed to insist upon the Minister of Education being a member of the House of Commons. In the first place, it is important that the discretion of a Prime Minister in the selection of his government should be as unfettered as possible, and secondly, in the interests of the public, such a condition might restrict the appointment to the exclusion of the best man. All that I would press is, that the most capable man should be appointed from the Peerage or from the House of Commons, to act as Minister for Education, with the understanding that his efficiency to deal with educational questions should be his primary qualification, and not his acquaintance with agriculture and irrelevant subjects. Such a minister should be of the highest rank. If he were not, the cause of education would lose even the indirect advocacy in the Cabinet it now possesses through the Lord President. The question then arises as to whether a Committee of Council should continue to exist. At the present moment it is a myth and a sham. The English council only meets about once a year, and the Scotch committee about twice. I should like to see these Committees of Council made a reality, and converted into deliberative and advising bodies. In such

a capacity they might be of great practical use, and tend to give weight and to smooth the path in Parliament of educational questions, especially if they were made to consist of influential persons cognisant with the practical bearings of big questions, or of important Bills under preparation. In retaining the form of the present Council on Education, but at the same time enlarging it and converting it into a reality, you would have the Home Secretary to advise upon the industrial schools, the President of the Local Government Board upon the union schools, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon any question of expense an extension of the rules regulating the Code might entail. And to these official personages would be added independent and distinguished men of position. I believe that any such council would not only assist the cause of education upon its own merits, but that it would tend to do so in a question of expenditure, as it would know how best to diminish the friction with ratepayers and others who are inimical to education, and make their hostility effective by playing upon local feelings and jealousies.

The administration of education ought to be elastic. The effect of a representative council upon the minister would be beneficial in restraining him from theories, and educationalists are apt to become *doctrinaires*. Its influence would be excellent also upon the cause of education in preventing its being crammed into one model. Thirdly, if the council contained representative men acquainted with local feelings, the idiosyncracies of Scotland and of parts of England would be respected, and unless they are very carefully considered, no system of education in a country where the passion for local self-government is intense, could be a practical success.

The question arises, how far and in what degree should the Ministry of Education resemble the French "Instruction Publique et Beaux Arts." Attention has on several occasions in the House of Commons been called to the apparent irregularity in constitutional procedure, that the annual vote of over £146,000 for the British Museum should be

moved by an irresponsible trustee. I confess that I should prefer to leave to the trustees the fullest and widest discretion. They are distinguished connoisseurs, carefully and specially selected, and presumably possessed, upon matters of art, of a more reliable opinion than an ordinary minister. At the same time steps might, I think, be advantageously taken to bring the British Museum and the National Gallery under the general supervision of the Committee of Council, so as to cause the various questions that arise between the Government and the trustees of the British Museum, to be negotiated through the Council of Education, and not, as now, directly with the Treasury.

Under this plan the Minister of Education would become the person of whom Parliament could ask questions, and who would be the means of giving information, but who would not interfere with the management or the autonomy of the institution.

In regard to questions such as the purchase of the Ashburnham collection, or the Blenheim Raphael, it would be the duty of the Minister of Instruction, firstly, to consult the trustees, and then to become the medium of discussing the matter of expense with the Treasury.

The Minister for Education, instead of the Secretary to the Treasury, would move the vote for the Museum and the National Gallery, and several stray votes, such as the vote for the Royal Society of London, of Edinburgh, and the Irish Academy in Dublin.

By connecting the Educational Department with the Museum and the National Gallery, the system now at work at South Kensington of circulating duplicate and surplus works of art throughout the provinces might be extended, and in this way a great assistance would be afforded to provincial art and its standard of taste.

As regards endowed schools, I would suggest that the Educational Department should have the power to make necessary inquiries, and to call for annual reports of the first-class grade schools, such as the Manchester, Bradford, and Leeds Grammar Schools, and also of the eight public

schools. At present Parliament possesses no opportunity of testing the efficiency of the endowed schools. It draws up schemes, but has no means of knowing whether the schemes are fairly tested or no. A school may be a very good school to-day, and five years hence it may be living on its reputation.

No sufficient arguments appear to have been urged at the time for placing the eight public schools upon a different basis to the other endowed schools. At Eton or at Harrow the boys have, as a rule, no ordinary stimulus to work, because they and their parents know that they will not have to earn their livelihood in after life. The only effective stimulus therefore must come from without, and if the instruction at these schools is to be thorough, they must be subjected to the mill of public examination, conducted by university examiners and public reports. In no other way do I believe these schools can be made annually to earn their endowments. Such interference would imply the minimum of centralisation, but afford some guarantee to the public that these institutions were fulfilling their part in the commonwealth of education. The ultimate decision as to the management and control of the schools would remain in the hands of the head-master, subject to the discretion of the several governing bodies. The older universities of Oxford and Cambridge seem clearly to come outside the consideration of this paper. It is another question, but one with regard to which I see great practical difficulties, whether it is desirable, and if so in what degree, to connect the Scotch Universities and the University of London, being educational bodies supported by grants from Parliament, with the Educational Department. But that is a large question by itself, and one into which I dare not enter in the present paper.

In conclusion, permit me to sum up the suggestions that I have ventured to make. They amount to this. The creation of a Ministry of Education for England, Wales, and Scotland, to be represented in Parliament by a chief of Cabinet rank with a Parliamentary sub-

ordinate, who would be advised and act in concert with a council, over which the Minister of Education would preside, which council would be at once the development and resurrection into life and activity of the dormant and disused functions of the Lords in Council ; and I would confer upon this ministry (1) the control of primary education ; (2) the power of ascertaining the efficiency of the endowed schools of the first grade and of the great public schools ; (3) the indirect responsibility for and supervision of bodies cognate to education, such as the great art and literary institutions throughout the country that are in receipt of public money. These suggestions do not imply the development of new principles. They do not involve the creation of a great centralising bureau which is to supersede and extinguish the various institutions which local patriotism has already originated throughout the country, and which are doing good work in the most excellent way. They aim rather at the arrangement and adaptation to present times of powers already embodied in legislation, and of their conversion into practical force and usefulness.

DISCUSSION.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said he had heard the paper read with great satisfaction, and must congratulate Lord Lynton upon having taken a great deal of pains in producing an essay which was full of suggestions well deserving of discussion in the Conference. He was afraid that he might be described as one of those of whom it was said, *laudator temporis acti*, but he would play the part of the devil's advocate to Lord Lynton, and would present a series of objections in the hope of eliciting answers to them. He remembered the foundation of the Council of Education, and the violent commotion which it created in the Church of England, so much so, that the then Archbishop of Canterbury, so mild a man as Archbishop Howley,

forty years ago proposed a motion in opposition to it in the House of Lords, because it was thought to be too great an interference with the duty of the Church in educating the people. That Council had for a long time, as Lord Lyndhurst had said, not been acting as a Board practically, under their president and a vice-president. As an old Member of Parliament, he might call attention to how the legislation of England had been worked out. Englishmen were not like the people on the Continent, who had things cut and dried for them by their Governments. We liked, on the contrary, to feel our way, and we liked to build things up on the basis of experience, and upon trial, and he was sufficiently an old-fashioned Englishman to think that a very sound system. That Committee of the Council was formed in order to strengthen the hands of those who had to administer public money in aid of the Church of England schools, British and Foreign Society schools, the Roman Catholic schools, and the Wesleyan schools in England, as it was thought they required to be surrounded by a committee of responsible members of the Cabinet. The Committee, as soon as they had started the subject, did not meet regularly. They had been summoned occasionally on questions of principle, and they left the work in detail to those who were chiefly responsible for it. But that was the way half the work was done in England, as had been the case with regard to the sanitary laws and the local government legislation. Almost all that kind of work had been begun by the Lords of the Privy Council. It was a system of gradual building up to form new systems, and the new system gradually swarmed itself off as the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade had done. They had in that way gradually brought themselves out into practically an Educational Department. He objected entirely to the suggestion that the Committee of Council should be galvanised again into life, and made the working council of a Minister of Education. For years the real Minister of Education had been Sir Francis Sandford. How could men with such

an enormous amount of work to do as our Cabinet ministers had, such men as Sir Charles Dilke, give their time to sitting in the Council. A great deal of Cabinet work was done by Committees. For instance, on the agricultural question last year there was a committee of the Cabinet. They discussed it and settled its principles. He thought really that to call the committee into existence again, and make it once more a ruling council, would be a useless work.

Lord LYMINGTON remarked that he suggested it should only be the advising body—that it should act in advising upon questions of national education.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said if that meant the small questions he would prefer to stick to the big ones. But those questions would require study and investigation of documents, and the Home Secretary and the Secretary of the Poor Law Board and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have not only to go into all the small questions, but into the big questions too, and all the different ministers of the Departments of State would have to be called together to consider those things. That would never do. It simply came to this; it was a suggestion that they should have something like the India Council. Who were the great educators of England? Men like Bishop Temple, and such gentlemen as were acting on that Conference, the Rev. Dr. Rigg and Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and the Rev. Dr. Graham. Those were the men who had experience in such matters. The opinion of the country was very much divided upon these questions, and when they had so many eminent men who were among the best teachers in England, were they to be left out in the formation of a council of education in this country? How were they going to deal with all the religious difficulties? Those men were all mixed up with the most intricate questions of education, and if they were worth their salt in the very important places which they occupy, would they submit to be made members of council, and paid a thousand a year to be simply educational theorists who were to live in

London and hamper the educational teachers and the ministers of education into the bargain. Lord Lymington had pointed out some very practical matters, and he had had the opportunity of hearing no doubt the opinions of a great number of very able men upon them when sitting on the Committee of the House of Commons, the report of which he (Sir T. Acland) had not had the advantage of seeing. Of course the vice-president must practically be in the House of Commons. There might be advantages in having the chief of the Education Department in the House of Commons and also in the Cabinet, but it would be undesirable to lay down a fixed rule on the subject. Some different arrangement might be desirable as to the exercise of patronage in the office, and on the appointment of inspectors. He did not wish to make imputations, but he could recollect when some unfit persons were appointed as inspectors. A great deal had been said about "my Lords," but they had already that which was practically a council. They had eminent men, senior wranglers, and others who were unknown to the world, who were a real Council on Education. The people of England might not know what they owed to some of the greatest men in the world who were unknown to fame, but who were doing the work of the country in this direction. The Ministers were the mouth-piece of the Departments, though they might do something to curb them, and they had to feel the pulse of the House of Commons and interpret public opinion. They required special qualifications, but it was not necessary that they should know much about education in a technical sense. Ministers in high positions did not require special knowledge. Mr. Childers had been at the head of the Army and Navy Departments, and he was now Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why was that possible? Simply because he was an able man. He therefore objected to the idea that the President of the Council must necessarily be an educationist. On the contrary, that would be, he thought, rather a disqualification than otherwise. No doubt many of his criticisms would be answered very ably by the noble lord

himself, and by the gentlemen present, and he was only putting them forward, as he had already stated, for the purpose of eliciting answers to them. They had heard a great deal in the other rooms, wherein the other Sections of the Conference were going on, about the spontaneous action and voluntary working of the English people. It was true that they wished to be independent in the matter of education, and could it be supposed that they were going to leave everything under the power of one minister, and that minister subject of course to political influences? They had seen something of the effect of interference in the Medical Bill. Was it not of considerable importance that our schools should retain independence. They were much interested in keeping up their spontaneous action, and he would call attention to the Schools Enquiry Commission, on which he had had the pleasure of working with Bishop Temple and a number of other able men. One recommendation of that Commission, which Mr. Forster had endeavoured to carry out, was to get provincial councils formed so that they might represent the spirit of every part of the country, and so to give them the control of local examinations; but that was defeated simply from political causes.

Mr. MACKNIGHT (Advocate, Edinburgh) had listened with great pleasure to Lord Lyndhurst's paper. It was a very interesting subject, and Lord Lyndhurst had shown very distinctly that the present management in the Educational Department was very faulty. It had given great dissatisfaction in England, and also Scotland. He quite agreed with Lord Lyndhurst in what he had said as to making a sham of the Educational Department. It should be made a real thing with an advising council. The chief proposal in the paper was that there should be one minister for England and Scotland; but that was entirely opposed to the public opinion in Scotland now, where they were exceedingly dissatisfied with the working of the present system. A few years ago the Scotch people had a Board of their own, and that was giving satisfaction. But, unfortunately, it was only a temporary Board, and it came to

an end when the whole thing was swallowed up in the English management. They were very independent people in Scotland, and were determined to do their own work in their own way, and they would never submit to having one minister acting for England and Scotland, because the educational system of Scotland was totally different from that of England, both in its administration and application. The Scotch were the first nation that was educated nationally, resulting from the efforts of the great reformer Knox. That system was carried out by local administration and not by administration at a distance of four hundred miles. Lately a Bill had been brought into Parliament in two successive Sessions for the appointment of a Secretary of State for Scotland. That Bill had not given great satisfaction in Scotland, and one great reason for the dissatisfaction was, that the management of the Educational Department was not intended to be given to the proposed Scotch secretary, but was proposed to be retained in the hands of the English governing body. That was a thing which they would never consent to, because the two countries were entirely opposed in their principles with regard to the management of education. They were exceedingly dissatisfied with the English Revised Code also, because their system of education was much more advanced than the English system; and now by the payment by results education was being degraded and the higher education was not given in their local schools. The great difference between the two countries was this. They had in Scotland a compulsory and universal system of education, whereas in England they had nothing of the sort; and at this moment it was a melancholy and appalling fact that one half the children in England of school age were not at school at all. He heard several gentlemen say "No" to that, but he was speaking from information. He would say that to give to one minister, however good and great he might be, the control of those two widely different systems of education was wrong in principle, and would never be submitted to by the people of Scotland. He quite agreed it would be

of great advantage to England to make the Council a reality instead of a sham, so that the Minister of Education should have a Board that he might consult. He did not agree with what Sir Thomas Acland had said upon this matter. In regard to the question whether there should be one minister for both countries or not, he would say it was impossible to have the same man acting for both countries, and it would be highly improper for the same minister acting for England and Scotland. They would never be content until they had a Secretary of State for Scotland sitting in the Cabinet, and in connection with a Board having control over the whole of the Scotch affairs; and first and foremost he must have control over the whole education of Scotland. He must take that quite friendly objection to the paper, because he hoped that ultimately it would be the case that they would have a Minister of Education in England, and a Secretary of State for Scotland, with a Board for the administration of Scotch affairs. The Bill for the appointment of such a secretary had been withdrawn this Session, like many other Bills, but he hoped it would be presented again next Session, and that the Bill that would then be presented would be a proper Bill, and one which could be accepted by the people of Scotland, which, unfortunately, the present Bill could never have been, as long as it did not give the whole control of Scotch education to the people of Scotland themselves.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) did not wish the debate to go off on lines diverging from those drawn by the noble Viscount. Knowing what the result of an internecine struggle must be between people from the north and south of the Tweed, he suggested that the organisation of a Department of education should be the main issue of the debate. He would again ask their foreign friends what their system was? A very eminent French educationist was present, Mons. Dumont, whom he would ask to give the meeting some idea of the constitution of the French Education Department.

The Rev. Dr. CROMBIE, before the question was gone into,

desired to point out that the question raised by the paper was whether there should not be a Minister of Education for England and Scotland, combined or separately ; and surely it would be quite proper for anybody to speak upon that question—of the appointment of a Minister of Education for either the one or the other of the two countries, or both included. He thought the debate should not be stopped upon that point.

The CHAIRMAN would certainly allow the debate on that point. He only wanted not to limit it to that question alone, as there were other very important questions arising out of the paper to be discussed. What he wished to exclude was a discussion on the creation of a Secretary of State for Scotland.

Mons. DUMONT (Director of Higher Education in France), speaking in French, said that having been asked by Lord Reay to give information on the relations existing between the Ministry of Education and the teaching body, both as regards to higher and secondary instruction, he would bear testimony that the great desire of the administration in France was to see the *corps des professeurs* manage more and more their own affairs, and look less eagerly for guidance and *réglementation* to the central authorities, whose aim was to gradually efface themselves and to become the fifth wheel of the coach. But in the meanwhile he was of opinion that the Ministry of Education had been and could still be the means of making many steps forward. It was without foundation that some people persisted in representing the French Ministry of Public Instruction as having a despotic character. Since the organisation of the *Conseil Supérieur*, whose attributions and mode of election he minutely described, Mons. Dumont declared that the University of France is really a self-governing body.

The CHAIRMAN asked the representatives of Austria-Hungary to speak with reference to the powers of both Governments in these matters.

Dr. MARKUSOVSKY, in reply to the question of the Chairman, whether both parts of the Austro-Hungarian

monarchy possess a separate Ministry of Education, said :— The dual monarchy has a common ministry for foreign affairs, for war, and for several less important financial branches ; all other departments—justice, home affairs, public worship and education, agriculture, industry and commerce, public works, ports, telegraphy, militia, finance—are represented by separate ministries in both parts of the empire. As regards the Ministry for Public Education, I cannot sympathise with the fears entertained by some in connection with the establishment of that ministry, as being restrictive, compulsory, and working in the direction of entire uniformity. I not only say this from theoretical reasons, but also from personal experience. During the last eighteen years, since Hungary has acquired her self-government, the country has witnessed more progress in the department of education than was formerly achieved in a century, and essentially owing to the activity and energy of the ministry. It took place, without regard to the high qualities of the present chief of the department, in consequence of the ministry recognising the necessities of the State, being acquainted with the character of its people, and being enabled to act to the best of its conviction in conformity therewith ; whereas in former times, with a single ministry, it was not, and could not be done. The report of the minister upon the progress of education in Hungary, as well as the other different publications of the same kind, sent at the request of the Committee of Management, gives ample evidence of what has been attained in this subject to the present day. Our endowed schools, which are Roman Catholic, as well as our Government colleges, are certainly managed by the ministry, and the subjects taught thereat arranged by its authority, but not without regard to the school-boards, the Council of Education, and the sanction of Parliament. The same rule applies to all universities, the faculties and professors of which are not only consulted as to their opinion, but are also at liberty to take the initiative. Finally, concerning schools of different other religious denominations, our

government has only the right of supervision, or, as we say, the king has the *jus supremæ inspectionis*, which, according to the Act of 1883, he exercises through the ministry, in sending delegates to the final examination of the middle schools—*maturitäts prisfingen*—reports of which are laid before him, and all deficiencies discovered are communicated to the different authorities of the schools in question, in order to be remedied by the same. I can say that our country is glad to possess a Ministry of Education, and especially one specially her own. That the Government may not impede the free development of science and education is guaranteed, in Hungary as well as in Great Britain, by the love of liberty of the people, and by the laws and institutions of the country, ancient as well as modern, which have been enacted, and are administered to the advantage of the same.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) understood Dr. Markovskoy to say that there were only some public departments which were common to both countries, but that Hungary had its own administration in the matter of education, as distinct from Austria.

Mons. BULS (Burgomaster of Brussels), who spoke in French, said that the President had asked his opinion on the utility of a ministry of Public Instruction, and would like to have some information on the share to be taken by such a department of State in the organization of communal education. On the first point his answer was, that since the establishment in Belgium of a Ministry of Public Instruction, the education of the people had taken a development which was altogether without precedent. At the present time there was not in the country a "commune," however poor, which had not its primary school. This fact alone showed the necessity of an energetic intervention on the part of the State. On the second point, Belgian law, whilst allowing great latitude to the communal authorities, had prescribed to them a minimum in everything, *i.e.* a minimum in the programme of teaching, a minimum of salary to the teachers, and a minimum

amount to be contributed to educational expenses. The law had also established certain guarantees in favour of the teachers, in order to place them beyond the effect of decisions that might be inspired by ignorance or party spirit. This system had had the unanimous approbation of the liberal party, and consequently of all large towns, such as the city he had the honour of governing ; all deplored the fall of the liberal Cabinet which had instituted this system of education.

BROTHER NOAH (of the Christian Schools in the United States) would say a few words with regard to education, as understood and worked out there. He must express some surprise at the fact mentioned by the gentleman who had just spoken, that in a republican country the most intelligent part of the people—the school-masters—refused to have anything to do with the government of their country, but asked to be governed without having any power, whatever, in framing the regulations which were to govern them. It reminded him very much of a certain gentleman in England, who insisted on his boys eating always roast mutton, but gave them the choice of having it cooked in whichever way they pleased. He thought the centralisation of education would be the death knell of all originality, and as a proof of what had been done in times past, he might say that in 1697, De La Salle, their founder, had promulgated a course of education, which was taken up in France in 1851, one hundred and fifty-four years afterwards, without the French Government, perhaps, knowing that they were adopting it. That was the best thing they found they could do after such a lapse of time, and it showed the sum and substance of what government knew about the requirements of the people. The system of originality was to be encouraged in every way, and there was no originality in saying to a man that he might examine the ground before him, but he must examine it from over the fence without going upon the land itself. Most of the modern claims to originality in these matters were entirely unfounded. It had only been within the last

ten or twelve years that they had adopted object teaching in Belgium, but he could show anyone, who came to Rouen, plans of military engineering, which had been constructed by the young men in the schools there two hundred years ago; and at Marseilles it could be shown in books, which were confiscated during the French revolution, treatises on deep sea soundings, harbour charts, and matters of that kind, which had been prepared by boys in a common school. After the French rebellion, so much was thought of that school, that the merchants of Paris sent a deputation to the Government to insist that it should be reopened. Those facts would be known to anyone who had read "*L'Histoire de l'École de Paris.*" With all due respect to what had been said by some of the speakers, this matter of centralisation was rather a cry, which was worked upon by those who were extremely anxious to carry it out, simply as an idea of their own, without studying history as it revealed its operations in other countries. Moreover, he would further say, with regard to the small proportion of centralisation which they had in America, and which, as Dr. Rigg proved from figures the previous day, in his lecture on Free Education, in another of the rooms, Section D, under the State Governments education was going backwards every day, as far as results were concerned, though it might be going forward as far as the ground covered went. There was a want of depth of that ground tilled, notwithstanding the cost of tilling that top soil, because the subjects never went to the hearts of those who were taught. He was very well acquainted with how the local school administration of England was carried on, but he believed it was by local bodies, and they had something of that kind in New York. With regard to the general system of education, Almighty God had made the world for the people, and that which was dearest to the people was the family. Nobody could be so interested in a family as the father and mother. The members of the family might not have all the education that was required, but they had a mission to fulfil, and, as the poet had said, each one had his work to do,

and that work could not be transferred to anyone else. After all, if they read history aright, the most troublesome thing they would find was that, where it was desired to go into the same work, history would repeat itself.

Miss STEVENSON (Member of the Edinburgh School Board) expressed great satisfaction with reports of the Select Committee. Their recommendation seemed to offer a solution of the question as to the future administration of education in Scotland. As a matter of fact, public opinion in Scotland was not unanimous as to how education was to be administered. On the occasion of the introduction of the Secretary of State for Scotland Bill, there was a great deal of discussion on the matter, and four of the most important School Boards and the Educational Institute of Scotland, and the Merchant Company in Edinburgh, who had the management of the largest endowed schools in Scotland, were in favour of the Bill as introduced, and against the Marquis of Huntley's Amendment. Those who accepted the idea that the Secretary, if appointed, should have the control of Scotch education, were opposed by a great number of people, who considered that the subject of education was sufficiently important to be administered by itself, and not to be mixed up, as it would be if that were the case, with a great many other subjects. She believed that the new Secretary for Scotland would have under his administration thirty-two different subjects, which were at present divided among five different departments, and they considered if it was a good thing to separate the administration of education in England from other subjects, it could not be a good thing to relegate it in Scotland to the management of a Secretary of State, who would have to attend to it with thirty-two other subjects. A great deal had been said about centralisation, and no one could realise its importance more than herself. If centralisation was to be done away with altogether, and they were to have no relation with the Department, then by all means give them a separate administration for education; but as long as they were

connected with the Department, she thought it was just as well that the control of education should be under one responsible head. She did not think, looking over the education statistics of Scotland, that they had any reason to complain that they had gone back, having regard to the position they were in before the passing of the Education Act. Everything pointed to the fact that they were not retrogressing, and they had it on the authority of the university professors, that the boys who came up from the primary schools to the university classes, had been on the whole very much better prepared in classics and mathematics since the passing of the Education Act, 1872, than they had ever been before.

The Rev. HENRY ROE desired to say one word with regard to the statement by Mr. Macknight that one-half of the children of England did not go to school at all. As a matter of fact, he had gone to the trouble of making a good many calculations upon the subject, and he had come to the conclusion that out of every hundred children, between 2 and 15 years of age in England and Scotland, there were fifty-two found at school in England, and forty-eight attending school in Scotland. He could give those figures without any fear of contradiction. How was that fact accounted for? He thought it might be accounted for in two ways. On the one hand in England we had a large number of infant schools, which did not exist in Scotland to any extent, or at all events not to the extent that they did in England, and on the other hand we had a much larger number of children above the age of 8 or 10 years in middle-class schools or secondary schools of one kind or another, than in Scotland. Roughly speaking, they had about the same number of children attending school in England and Scotland, between the ages of 2 and 10 years. With regard to having the Lord-President in one House of Parliament, and the Vice-President in another, a wheel could not go on two centres, though it might have as many spokes as were thought necessary, and, therefore, they might make the members of the Council as numerous

as they pleased, but they certainly could not have two heads. They should stick to that one single thing, and the one axle, so to speak, on which everything turned, was the appointment of a minister, who would be able to manage the whole matter.

Earl FORTESCUE said that the difference in the attendance of infants at school in England and Scotland was accounted for by the facts that infants could not go very far. There were fewer infant schools in Scotland, and they could not expect little things of two years old to go toddling along for great distances. Any comparison, therefore, beginning at so early an age, would be illusory. Infant schools could only exist and be of use where they were within reach of the children's homes, so that the infants might be able to get to them.

The Rev. Dr. HIRON (one of the visiting examiners and school inspectors of the College of Preceptors) said, with regard to secondary education, its present position in the country could hardly be looked upon as satisfactory by anybody who had considered the question at all. In his capacity as a visiting examiner and inspector of the College of Preceptors he had seen a great deal of the present state of secondary schools throughout the country, and while many of them were in a good condition, many were not so. If the examiner's report was good, it was invariably regarded with great satisfaction; if the report was not very good, it was not very pleasing to those whose schools they went to inspect, and if the report was wholly condemnatory the inspectors were not often invited to go again. The system of examination for secondary schools was an entirely voluntary thing. They had, therefore, at present, for the purpose of gauging the position of the secondary schools in this country, a very imperfect machine. There were local examinations, no doubt, which tested them to a certain extent, and in the presence of Sir Thomas Acland he would gladly acknowledge that fact. There was a system of examination of schools also by the universities, as they had heard in another part of the building that morning,

and there were the examinations and inspections of the College of Preceptors. But after all, how many of the schools throughout the country were touched at all? Near London (within six or seven miles), about a year and a half ago, he was called upon to visit a school for the College of Preceptors, and he found that not a single boy there had ever been examined before. Into that school the light of examination had never penetrated before that time, and that was a state of things which he found existing only a year and a half ago, at this stage of the education question. They had had the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which had set many of those schools upon their legs, and no doubt they had some admirable schemes on paper which provided that the schools should be examined by some independent authority from time to time; but the public had no one to tell them what was the result of the examination. Where was the authority, either central or local, which could take into consideration the nature of the reports, and which could act with authority upon the reports with regard to those schools? There was at any rate no central authority at all. He preferred to approach the question from this point of view, interested as he was in secondary schools; and from seeing a good deal of the machinery of their working, he asked himself whether the appointment of a Minister of Education would advance the interests of secondary education. There was at present no one to whom they could go whose hands were not full to overflowing, and who would have the time to attend properly to the question of secondary education. The second part of the Endowed Schools Bill of 1869 had been dropped, from a variety of causes. The opinion of the country had been growing in the interval, and one result of this Conference would be to help to educate the public to a point when the question of secondary education could be adequately dealt with. He was no great advocate of centralisation, but he would say that anything was better than the present state of muddle. At the same time there was no necessity for any great amount of interference with the secondary

schools. All they wanted was to have some machinery which should make it plain to the public that those schools were doing their duty. The largest possible amount of independence should be left to the schools, and the schools should have a free choice from an authorised list of examining bodies. If the reports were unsatisfactory, there should be some machinery, a local or central authority, by which the condition of the schools should be still more fully investigated, and a remedy applied. In such a plan as that there would be as little as possible of the evils of centralisation. It would interfere as little as possible with the schools, and yet it would give to them the healthy stimulus of an authoritative inspection. The appointment of a Minister of Education would help forward the establishment of some such machinery, and it was with that view that he had ventured to offer a few remarks.

The Rev. Prebendary BRERETON thought the point brought out by the last speaker was one which concerned them very much. In England, particularly, we dreaded the evils of centralisation, and especially did we dread it with regard to education, feeling that a monotonous system might be introduced, and that some imperfect methods might become stereotyped. They would all agree that it was most important that the secondary schools in England, which were coming very much to the front, should come under the full daylight of public observation and public inspection, and he thought that the great work of the University Local Examinations was hardly appreciated from the point of view of its great capacity for extension. If the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the University of London, too, would co-operate, it was perfectly certain we could have in this country a comprehensive system of examination which would greatly benefit the different schools, and satisfy the public. He rejoiced to hear Lord Lymington propose, at all events, to exempt the universities from his scheme, and he would say leave the universities free to act, and let the schools look to university guidance, and it would be found that

they would not want very much control, though he thought they wanted State organisation.

The Rev. Dr. DAWES said that the remarks he proposed to offer had been to some extent anticipated. The majority of those who had taken part in the discussion seemed to be in favour of the appointment of a minister, but he himself did not desire to see a ministry of public instruction established in this country. He was glad to hear M. Dumont say as he had understood, that in France they hoped soon to be able to do without a minister of public instruction. They would find that the machinery which would be provided by a central Board would create a power in which different provinces would be able to act independently of a ministry of public instruction. This question had been brought forward very much within the last two or three years, and there seemed to be a tendency on the part of imitators of foreign systems to ask for the creation of a ministry of Education. He was surprised that the people of England should be asked to bind themselves under any such minister. No doubt many people travelling on the continent were very much impressed by seeing the results of the teaching there, and thought they contrasted very much with our results, because everything was so beautifully arranged and everything was squared out so nicely. They all knew how everything was done by routine, and recorded and docketed, and there was no disorder in any direction. That was the condition of things that they found in France and Germany. But in a country like England the people should not draw an illogical conclusion of that kind. We had gone on in this country in our own way, not only in matters of education but in all our developments, and had made ourselves what we were. Speaking to a Frenchman the other day, referring to the trees being cut in the park at Versailles, and planted in beautiful long avenues, and trimmed and pruned by the cutter's art, he reminded the Frenchman that in our parks the trees were to be seen growing in their own way, and with their own beautiful foliage, and that after all they grew better and were better developed than at Versailles; so that they

would easily understand gentlemen who were engaged in educating and examination, seeing the many faults around them, should make attempts to remedy them, and should think that we could do that better if we had a minister of Education. But was it any reason why we should put a straightjacket upon ourselves for fear someone else should do mischief. That seemed to him to be the tendency of some of the speeches, that if a man was to teach at all he was not to teach without being certified, and must have his certificate, like a dog's license, attached to his collar. If that were the case he could not be free. A man under inspection was not a free man. He admitted it was possible there might be some good results, but they would have to pay so much for it, that he thought the sacrifice of our individuality would be so great, that it would not be worth paying it to obtain a minister. They should consider where this question would lead them. The writer of the paper had said that this would not do for Ireland, and he would ask why then should it do for Scotland? As far as Scotland was concerned, Mr. Macknight had said the people there would never have it. Therefore, if Ireland and Scotland were taken away, there remained still a little fragment as well as England, and that was the principality of Wales. But what did the Welshmen say? They said they would not have it either. Then if Scotland and Ireland and Wales would not have it, why should poor Englishmen bind themselves hand and foot to a minister of Education? He ventured to say the answer of the English public would be, No. Let us develop ourselves, and there might be much advantage gained. But he did not think the individuality of character should be sacrificed. Let them consider the development of Germany. In its darker times that country had many political difficulties, but what made Germany so great in its literature, in its philosophy, in its theology, and in its learning generally? They found that the institutions of learning were formerly carried on independently; such were at Berlin and Hanover, and there were many universities belonging to the different provinces developing good men in

their own way. So that the great schools of Germany, like the great schools of England, had the impress of great men. They were not put under a system. It had well been said by the last speaker that the establishment of a central power would be the death knell of our progress. We were not standing still, on the contrary we were going on rapidly, and how far ahead we had gone could be seen in this Exhibition. Gentlemen who remembered the Exhibition of 1851 and the show made in educational matters, would know what development had been made in every branch since that time. There were local attractions and local feelings tending to introduce rivalry with other schools. All that helped us a great deal. Manchester had its schools, Liverpool had its schools, Leeds had its schools, and Nottingham had its schools. He would ask anybody who knew what Nottingham was 30 years ago to go and look at the schools there now. And the same thing might be said with regard to public schools at Birmingham. In France, where everything was centralized, if they went to the museums and schools in the provinces, whether they went north or south, they would see from the state of those museums and schools what was the result of centralization. They would see how everything had to wait for the action of the ministers of instruction, how they had to write up to Paris to get everything given them. They would see the state of the furniture and the state of the buildings altogether, and then he would ask them whether they could find anything like that in England. He did not think they would find anywhere in this country our schools or museums in that unclean, uncared for state. Yet in France they had a central power. Taking all those things into consideration, he would say that we were progressing in England, and he would earnestly ask those who were so very desirous of placing us under a centralizing power, which would deprive us of a great deal of our individuality and local liberty, to pause. He knew they meant well and desired well, and that they took great interest in the education of the country, but he thought their eyes were not fixed on

the true development of our own country, but rather on the systems abroad, which were after all founded on despotism, and which could not be made congenial to the spirit of our country. As Mons. Dumont had said, we could not change our nature, but it might be modified, and they hoped to modify it in France by getting rid of their ministry of Education. Let us therefore not render it necessary to modify ours in the same way, by introducing a ministry of that description. The subject was a most interesting one, and it was at the present time being much discussed. Many people where at first sight pleased with this notion, but on looking into the matter more deeply, and examining it in all its bearings, he would be sorry for his own part to see a ministry established, the power of which must become very large. Recently all teachers throughout Germany were notified that they should teach the boys to spell in a way in which they had never spelled before. He did not know whether the anecdote was true, but if it was not true it was at all events *ben trovato*, but Prince Bismarck was reported to have said on one occasion "if any of my clerks write according to that spelling I will send him off at once." Then it was said that certain books should be used and a certain system adopted, and indeed if that power could be exerted there was no telling to what extent it might go. His objection was to any system which would tend to centralize the various forces now so wonderfully at work in England. They found that ladies too took a great interest in this matter, and not only educationalists and churchmen, but laymen had taken a deep interest in it. All he could say was, that if there were to be a Minister of Instruction appointed, let him see that every clergyman was better instructed. They wanted their teachers better instructed both in the pulpit and in the schools. They should see that their teachers were thoroughly well educated, and that the teachers were properly fitted to teach. Let it be known in the market that good men were wanted and good men would come. Let that be done in every district, and in

every town in the country, and education which was still much needed would take wonderful strides, and take its own natural development ; free from the control of a minister, it would go on and supersede all necessity for the establishment of such a ministry.

The Rev. Dr. HIRON did not like to be knocked over upon language which he had not used. He did not object to be met upon anything which he had advocated, but he objected to have attributed to him that which he never advocated at all. He certainly never advocated that the minister should direct everything. What he contended for was, that the schools should make their own choice of subjects and of examining bodies, and that the only thing they should satisfy the minister upon, was that they were doing their work properly and doing what they professed to do.

The Rev. Dr. CROMBIE, of St. Andrews, said the debate had gone so far, and so many excellent things had been said, that he could hardly be expected at this stage to say anything more upon it worth listening to. But to go back to the question which was before the Section, namely, whether it was desirable to have a minister of instruction, that question could only be answered properly by considering what were to be the functions and powers of a minister of public instruction for England and Scotland, either combined or separately. The objection against the existence of a minister of public instruction for England and Scotland, rested upon the fact that the ideas which we had formed of the nature and powers of such a functionary were derived from the working of officials in such a position in countries abroad, where the independence of the citizens was not what it was in England and Scotland. He had heard of a minister of instruction on the continent, and he believed the anecdote was perfectly authentic, who, speaking of the complete control which he had over all the higher instruction in that country, looking at the clock said, "At this moment in all the lyceums, gymnasiums, and public schools in this country the students are engaged in studying ancient history." We in England and Scotland

should never stand such a state of officialism for one single moment. He hoped things were beginning to be better understood in England, and he was glad to hear that in France the public instruction there was being so fully developed, and had become so firmly based, that in that country even, by and by, no public functionary would be needed to control it. He was greatly interested in what had been said on the question whether in England we should not be benefited with regard to the secondary schools by the appointment of a minister of public instruction. It was only from the experience of those who had had the opportunity of knowing the condition of education in England that we could derive materials for deciding whether that country needed a minister of instruction or not. He would leave that question to the decision of the English people themselves. He would deal with the question whether it was desirable to have a minister of public instruction for Scotland. First of all, the state of circumstances in the two countries was so very different, that it would need a very highly-gifted man indeed for such an office, in dealing with the great educational questions in the two countries. On that point Mr. Macknight had with emphasis, which he could fully endorse, stated that it was impossible that such a state of things could be ever permitted in Scotland. That question of the appointment of a minister of education in Scotland was complicated at the present moment. They had been agitating, and agitating successfully, for a minister for Scotland, who should discharge the duties of that part of the kingdom as the Home Secretary did for England. They had made an impression on the Government of the day, and a Bill for that purpose had been introduced, but unfortunately it had to be withdrawn like so many others. It provided for the appointment of a Scotch secretary, but most unfortunately the Department of Education was deliberately excluded from the functions which were to be performed by that public minister or secretary for Scotland. Other matters which ought to have been included, such as the appointments of

the various judges and other things of that kind, were also excluded from that Bill. That Bill had not satisfied the Scotch people, and although it was a somewhat perilous thing to prophecy, at least to the prophet himself, he would venture to say that it certainly would not be long until they had a minister for Scotland, who, besides the other duties he would have to discharge, would possess the power of regulating public instruction with the aid of a Council of Education. With such a functionary, and with such a council, great benefit would be derived. Education in Scotland was at present under the control of the Privy Council, and the result was that the grants were administered in the same way as in England. No doubt they were dissatisfied with the present state of primary education in Scotland. The public schools had replaced the old parish schools. But in our elementary schools grants were now to be given for higher education, and those grants would be given, not on *standards* merely, but on reports of the inspectors with regard to the *classes* which were examined. What was the position of secondary education in Scotland? They had not a complete system of secondary schools, though they had some admirable schools in Scotland, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, which had reached the highest point of efficiency. Each of those schools was left to the freedom of will of its own directors. There was no unity running through those schools, as far as he had seen. That was a state of things in which, with the assistance of a council of education, a great deal of good could be done. He believed that Lord Lymington proposed to exempt those belonging to the universities from any control by the minister of education. His Lordship took a great interest in these matters, and he hoped he would not leave out the universities, as far as he was concerned—the universities of Scotland, at least. They had there four universities, and they had been left to the freedom of their own will so far, which was perhaps not the best thing. Those who controlled the universities should look to see that the professors discharged their duties, and did not occupy their time in discussing hobbies, and they

should see that the professors did not delegate their duties to others. The University Courts ought to take care of that, and after an experience of sixteen years, he might say that they were an extremely tender body. One of the professors now retired had boasted that "nobody had ever interfered with him, and he did not think anybody would ever dare to interfere with him." One of these Courts never published any record of its proceedings, and as a matter of fact, inefficient professors had been allowed to remain in office long after they should have been removed. It was a very delicate thing of course to bring a complaint against a professor ; but if any one would refer to the records, they would find he had not exaggerated. It had been said that it was a simple impossibility that the minister would be able to attend to the subject of education in Scotland ; but he would be open to public opinion, and the press was not slow in such matters, and besides, he could be criticised in Parliament. That was not the case in foreign countries, where ministers were independent of public criticism. The idea of a despotic functionary being appointed, who should impose his own views simply on the people, was too absurd. He considered that their ideas on that point were rather prejudiced from what they saw in France and Germany. He thought then that education, higher and lower, should be in the hands of a responsible public minister for Scotland, and that he should have the advice of a Council, and he would very speedily, if he were a man of ability and judgment, make a great improvement, especially in the secondary and university education of the country. We had plenty of materials for the appointment of such a minister. We had many distinguished men, such as Lord Rosebery, and others. There were many such men who were thoroughly acquainted with the system of education, its defects and excellencies ; and the appointment of such an official, even for a limited space of time, would do a world of good. We did not wish to have all the schools arranged like a regiment of soldiers wearing a certain uniform. They would retain a certain autonomy of their own ; but abuses would

be corrected with a swift hand, and the lower level of education would be raised to the higher.

Mr. MACKAY remarked that he did not know that the previous speaker was entitled to come to the meeting and speak for Scotland, and say that he expressed the ideas of the people of Scotland.

Dr. CROMBIE repudiated any intention of doing so. He had simply stated his own opinions on the subject.

Mr. MACKAY said that at all events Dr. Crombie had continually made use of the name of Scotland; as far as he himself could speak of the opinion of the Scottish people, speaking in his own limited way, the feeling of the country was certainly not in favour of the appointment. The feeling of Scotland was distinctly in favour of having Scotland united with England under a minister of education. The proposed Secretary for Scotland would have over thirty other duties to attend to, and the question was, could a man of such varied duties give proper attention to this question? As far as they could make out, the result would simply be this, that some official, of perhaps not very high standing, would have the whole management of their education. There was no proposal to have a proper system of control of education—nothing but the appointment of a minister, who would probably leave the matter to some head-clerk. He could speak for the School-board of Edinburgh, the School-board of Glasgow, and the public press in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Every one almost of the Scottish papers, with the exception of the *Scotsman*, was dead against this proposal, which Dr. Crombie had been laying before the meeting. His belief was that the proposal would meet with very strenuous opposition from every quarter. Now that they had the prospect of the appointment of a Minister of Education for the whole country, he sincerely hoped it would be carried out for Scotland, as well as for England. If that were not done, he was very much afraid that they would not have a man who would lead them on as England would be led on by her Minister of Education.

The CHAIRMAN (Lord Reay) thought that the discussion had done thorough justice to the paper which Lord Lymington had so carefully prepared. As he had not yet read the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Section would fully understand that at the present moment he must be extremely cautious in what he said on the subject. In summing up the result of the debate, he would especially bring before the Section the important evidence which had been given from abroad. In the first place, they had the evidence from France, that though they had a Minister of Education there, that Minister of Education did not pass an important measure of any kind without consulting the body of teachers in the country. To his mind it was much more important to ask who were the advisers of a Minister of Education, than to consider whether there should be a Minister of Education or not. Sir Thomas Acland had said very justly, that the real minister of education, whom we had had for years past, was Sir Francis Sandford, and, as Professor Crombie had observed, Sir Francis was probably one of the very few men who was able, from his intimate acquaintance with the various systems of England and Scotland, to give to both countries the benefit of his experience. As Dr. Crombie had said, the important thing to consider was what should be the functions of this Minister of Education. The abolition of the dual control which at present existed, of the President and Vice-President of the Council, might increase the efficiency of the Department. He did not believe that the Education Department was at present what it should be, and he was, therefore, in favour of reform. But then came the very important question of the Council of Education, which was only hinted at in the paper, and upon which they had had the evidence of Mons. Dumont. How was the Committee of Council for Scotland to be dealt with? He did not believe that the Parliamentary Committee proposed to do away with that Committee. He had asked Sir Lyon Playfair, who was in favour of the appointment

of a Minister of Education, what was proposed, and he understood that the proposal was that the Scotch Department should be exactly what the Science and Art Department was now, an entirely separate body. The question lay within a very narrow compass. The paper suggested a Minister of Education who would be in the Cabinet, and if he was in the Cabinet, as Sir Thomas Acland had pointed out, he would be there not because he was fit to be at the head of a certain department, but for political considerations. A man was put in the Cabinet for other reasons, and therefore the whole contention that they must have a specialist at the head of the Department if they wanted him also to be a Cabinet Minister, entirely fell to the ground. They must therefore consider what advice would be given to him by the eminent men who would surround him. That coincided with what had been said by Mons. Dumont. Then they had some valuable information given them as regarded Austria-Hungary. With regard to that country they had been told that they had their separate Ministers of Education. He agreed that they had an immense problem to solve in the matter of secondary education, both in England and Scotland, and that a strong Department was required. It was quite impossible that the three divisions of primary, secondary, and higher schools could be dealt with by one man, and still less could it be done for two countries having different systems of education. If they wanted to have, as had been well pointed out by Dr. Hiron, a minister who would stimulate education, and give to the people a good system of education, they must take care to have an Educational Council competent to deal with the various questions, and they could not put in the hands of one man absolute powers, a man who had been selected as a Cabinet minister not for any acquaintance with these subjects. He thought the ideas of the public had become a great deal clearer on the subject. Whatever might be the difference of opinion upon the Minister of Education, the meeting would agree that it was better in the interests of the people of both countries that

the matter should be so far left in their own hands that it should be dealt with in England and in Scotland and in Ireland by those who understood the specific wants of each country.

LORD LYMINGTON said that the objection to the paper was a general objection to the creation of any minister at all, so far as he understood. That had been put very strongly and very forcibly by Dr. Dawes ; but in the first place, it did not seem to him that in England there was any very great danger of centralization. As had been pointed out by the learned professor, they would have the responsibility undertaken by Parliament, and interference by Parliament ; but the scheme which he had proposed and placed before them only substituted one form of administration for another. It did not practically amount to the creation of any new system of centralization. They had already got their minister ; they had the Lord President of the Council now, who called himself the Minister of Education, and they also had the Vice-President of the Council, his subordinate, who practically did the educational work of the Department ; the effect of his proposal would be that, instead of the Lord President, they would have an actual Minister of Education, and instead of the Vice-President, they would have a secretary or under-secretary, either a Secretary of State or a Subordinate Secretary similar to that of the Local Government Board or of the Board of Trade. But perhaps the point upon which the principal objection to centralization was made came in upon that part of his proposal in which he suggested an indirect interference with the endowed schools. He had heard nothing in the course of this discussion to make him alter his views in regard to that matter, and he would point out that the suggestion he had made reserved great independence to those bodies. It reserved to them, whether they were endowed schools of the first grade, or whether they were the eight great schools under the various governing bodies and authorities, a power and right to choose their own examinations and their own course of instruc-

tion. The State would only have to insist that the public examinations were properly carried out, so as to ensure that efficient education was being given. With regard to the question of the council, the reason why he suggested an advising council was, that if the Minister of Instruction was not to be necessarily a Cabinet Minister, the interests of education would not be so well cared for as they were at the present moment, because the Lord President of the Council was of necessity in the Cabinet. But he also had felt the great weight of the argument that it would be undesirable to render it obligatory to choose a specialist. If they had an advising council, they could select a man as minister of education on certain grounds. They would be considerably influenced by his experience and acquaintance with educational questions, but they should also be guided as to his selection by his general experience in administrative affairs. Therefore, although the minister need not necessarily be an educationist himself, he would have the advantage of having a very competent body of representative men to advise him. One question had been asked, why he had included Scotland, and had not included Ireland, but he did not press the inclusion of Scotland. There was much to be said on both sides of that question. However, the position of Scotland was very different from that of Ireland, because in Ireland they had practically got what was not a system of compulsory education, but what was practically a system of denominational education. That was a fundamental reason why they should not include Ireland in any scheme, because they would have to make very considerable allowance for those differences.

A vote of thanks was passed to Lord Lymington for his valuable paper, and to the Chairman.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 10 A.M.

Chairman : The Venerable Archdeacon EMERY.

The CHAIRMAN read the following paper by Mr. G. W. Hemming, Q.C. :—

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE.

By G. W. HEMMING, Q.C.

THE first duty of everyone who addresses you is to remember the value of time. I am bound to be brief, and a man who must be brief ought to be terse, and is in some danger of being, or seeming, dogmatic. More than most subjects, University education needs to be treated in a Catholic spirit, without dogmatism or intolerance. And this for a very obvious reason. We see Universities and Colleges in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, in our Colonies, and in the United States, with almost every conceivable variety of constitution—and all or most of them doing really good work, and doing it under systems which have grown in a natural course of evolution. It may well be that in considering the moulds in which such institutions should be cast, we may come to the conclusion that what is best for one country may not be most suitable for another, and that if we do arrive at some conception of an ideal constitution for a typical University, it can only be accepted with a large and liberal allowance for variations demanded by the special circumstances of different societies.

Still, underlying all this variety of form, there are, I believe, considerations of essence and substance which cannot prudently in any case be left out of account, and none of these are of greater moment than those which concern the fitting relations between the University and the Colleges which may be associated with it. Let us begin with a clear understanding of the purposes for which such institutions exist. They may all be summed up in these two : the increase of knowledge and the training of students ; or, as it has been the fashion of our time to call them, research and education. In both these objects University and Colleges, if well organised, will co-operate with one another, and those arrangements will be best by which the work is so apportioned between them as to insure the most ample results.

Something may be learned by considering the germs out of which the University and the College have developed. There is always a charm—sometimes perhaps a little misleading in its influence—in looking back upon the beginnings of the institutions which govern our modern life ; and we have a long way back to look for the origin of our great educational establishments. Whether or not the claim of an antiquity of 1000 years can be quite strictly made out in favour of any of our Colleges, there are Universities old enough to be almost pre-historic. To dwell in detail on their early characteristics would be out of place on an occasion like the present. The traditions which have come down to us are no doubt glorified with a halo of poetical romance. But they have their basis of truth and fascination. You have put before you a picture of this kind. You are told to think of some famous Doctor, with brain full of knowledge and heart full of enthusiasm, discoursing to multitudes of worshipping students gathered from all quarters to sit at his feet and listen to his eloquence ; and in a scene like this to see the ideal type of a primitive University. The companion picture of the primitive College is very different. It shows you not so much a seat of education as a cloister of study. There is no throng of students—there

may be no renowned professor—but only a little band of brothers devoting themselves to contemplation, and patiently seeking such truth as they are able to discern. In an association of this character you have the type of a primitive College.

Thus in the beginning the University appears as the institution for education, the College as the foundation for study and research. One other feature develops itself at a very early stage—the granting of degrees and diplomas, and this naturally belongs to the teaching rather than to the studying body. The degree is the hall-mark stamped by due authority on successful students—a small matter perhaps in comparison with the educating function. It is a nobler work to produce an article of genuine metal than to test it and brand it after it has been manufactured. A University may be likened to a factory whose purpose is to turn out the highest product of civilisation—the educated man; and in this, its primary duty, it is doing something vastly greater than when it sends its graduates into the world each stamped with his appropriate label. Still degrees, like hall-marks, are not to be despised. They have been sneered at as mere commercial brands; but the brand, be it remembered, not only gives merit its due, but may sometimes bestow on those who receive it a power of usefulness which unrecognised attainments would fail to confer.

In the earliest forms of University and Collegiate Institutions there was no necessary connection between the two. But it is obvious that each may be helpful to the other. The union of the College and the University is the wedding of education and research. Each may exist singly and usefully, but the two working in harmony multiply, while they join, their previously isolated efforts. In this united life, what should be the general functions of the two elements thus brought together? Naturally, the first impression would be that the University should continue its teaching, the College its life of investigation. And yet the tendency, in England, at any rate, has generally been in the opposite direction. Gradually the Colleges at Oxford and

Cambridge absorbed more and more of educational work, while it was to the Professors of the Universities that men looked, and not in vain, for the conquest of new realms of knowledge. And the triumphant—some would say the encroaching—advance of the College has sometimes gone even further than this. Thus, in the organisation of the comparatively modern University of London, the affiliated Colleges assume all the higher functions alike of teaching and investigation, and leave to the University only the less exalted duty of testing the acquirements of students, and conferring appropriate degrees. To some extent, in Scotland, and still more in Germany, the Universities have remained on the old footing, without Colleges either to aid their work or to reduce them to insignificance ; while, in Ireland, almost the same result was reached by an opposite development ; for Trinity College grew so mightily that it needed in recent times much investigation to discover that the corresponding University still retained a theoretical existence. In every form which these institutions may assume—whether the University and the College stand alone or united—whether the one or the other is predominant—experience has taught us that both in education and research good and fruitful work may be done. It may be, that under some conditions of national and social life, the association of the College with the University is not needed—it might possibly even, in some extreme case, be a hindrance rather than a help ; but few will doubt that, under the circumstances, and with the associations which rule over English life, the highest form is that in which the University and the College are brought together as parts of one organization for a single end ; and it becomes for us, at any rate, and perhaps may become for other nations too, a matter of grave importance to apportion to each constituent its proper function. Before inquiring how much of the common duty should be assigned to one or the other body, we ought to have as clear an idea as may be of the whole work to be done ; and when we strive to grasp this in its entirety, it is impossible not to see that the primitive University and the

primitive College, whether separately or together, failed to cover the whole ground.

One deficiency is obvious. Neither the old type of University, nor the old type of College, affected to supply anything like personal and individual training. Without this, all the oratory and wisdom in the world will do but half the work of education. For in truth, one man cannot in any proper sense of the word teach another. You may stimulate a pupil's ambition and his efforts ; you may teach him what to study and how to learn ; you may test his progress and gauge his powers, show him his errors, and guide him in his path. But when all is done the scholar must learn for himself, and in order that the master may faithfully do his work of guidance, he must know his pupil, and be in sympathy with the workings of his mind. In other words, personal training must supplement public dissertation, and for this the old Colleges made little provision, and the old Universities none at all.

It was out of a half-conscious appreciation of this necessity that the predominance of the College steadily developed. The tutorial element was introduced. The fellows and scholars, from having been a family of elder and younger brothers, came by a steady process of evolution to place their studies under the control of directing minds, and as their work became more sharply differentiated, the desire to extend its usefulness led to the admission of undergraduates as adopted children of the College, though in no sense members of the corporate body. Their numbers grew out of all proportion to the privileged foundationers, and in modern times (except in rare instances, like All Souls at Oxford) the essence of a collegiate institution is felt to consist of a large body of students outside the Corporation itself, and of a select body of leaders to whom their discipline and training is committed. By this gradual but fundamental change, personal instruction became a possibility, and to a considerable extent the deficiency in the earlier form of University teaching was supplied. But the work was never thoroughly done. The tutorial guidance

which the Colleges offered fell short of the intimate personal relationship between the teacher and the taught, which was essential to full success, and this want—as wants are always apt to do—began to supply itself by a natural process. The demand for personal and sympathetic teaching called into being the class of private tutors, who did largely supplement and supplant the work of the College, just as the College had supplemented and supplanted the work of the University. This private invasion of the official domain was justified only by the insufficient action of the authorities, for it is impossible to regard as perfect the organisation of any University which leaves its *alumni* under the necessity of getting themselves trained at their own expense by teachers who may have no more than a casual or accidental connection with the constituted authorities. Still the work of teaching has been done in this way not without efficiency—though if study has been helped by it, it has also been corrupted. Undue prominence has been given to what I have ventured to call the commercial element. The positive pecuniary and material gain to be derived from a good degree has been set before the student's mind, to the exclusion in some measure of loftier ambitions. Learning has been sought as a kind of valuable stock-in-trade, and the “private coach,” if I may use the familiar University slang, has tended too much to degenerate into the professional crammer.

Almost all the efforts of our Universities during the present generation have been directed—and, I believe, with every prospect of success—to the mitigation of this evil. There is but one way of doing it. Import into public teaching the vital element of personal sympathy, which gave to the private tutor all his strength, and the University and the College together will soon learn to dispense in a great measure with extraneous aid, and bring up their work to the level of their responsibilities. The competition of the private tutor will, it may be hoped, always remain as a serviceable stimulant to official effort, but it will no longer threaten to efface the College or

the University, as it has gone near to do in times not very remote.

The serious question arises whether the further development of public instruction properly belongs to the University or to the College. The answer which commends itself to my mind, and which I cannot help thinking will commend itself to most of those who have considered the subject, is that neither one nor the other can do it alone, and that the close and harmonious co-operation of University and College is essential to any satisfactory solution of the problem. For it must be remembered that both the University and the College have in the past tried their hands and, I will not say have failed, but have fallen short of complete success.

Universities once knew how to kindle the enthusiasm of study, but wholly failed to appreciate the necessity or to provide the means of personal training.

Colleges strove to supplement the work by the establishment of tutorial classes, and in so doing almost entirely withdrew the mass of students from the inspiring influence of professorial eloquence until, as a natural consequence, professorial eloquence languished, and came to be thought of as an archaic method which no longer deserved to be cultivated. It is now getting to be recognised here in England, as it has always been felt elsewhere, that this old element of University teaching cannot be contemptuously cast aside without grave loss of practical efficiency.

To make all that can be made of a community of students it is not less important to kindle the enthusiasm of the mass than to guide and sustain the intellectual working of each individual mind. Patient and effective thought may develop itself best in solitude or in the association of a few congenial minds. Enthusiasm for the most part comes only to a crowd. There is a strange magic in the feeling that every soul in a vast congregation is thrilled at the same moment by the same inspiration from the voice of a mighty teacher. No man's imagination is strong enough or vast enough to dispense entirely with this

stimulus of human sympathy ; and a system of University teaching which, like the pure College system, finds no place for such influences as these, halts on one foot and must needs stop short of the goal.

And there is another reason why the early mode of teaching by public addresses—if it is to be revived, as surely it ought to be—should be entrusted to the University and not to the College. You must have the crowded audience or the spell is broken ; and you must also have something more than the mere man of knowledge in the rostrum. The task of moving a multitude may be achieved without any large measure of verbal eloquence—but it is impossible without genius. And what does that mean ? you may ask. It has become the fashion to fasten upon Carlyle the heresy that genius is nothing whatever but an infinite capacity for taking pains. But he never said that. What he did say was true enough, that genius meant “a transcendent capacity for taking trouble in the first place.” So it does in the first place, but it means vastly more behind, and it is so rare, that any University may be congratulated which can produce one or two men of genius in each great department of learning. Hence the necessity of concentrating work of this class in the hands of the few who are endowed with the necessary gifts. Large assemblies and few but choice teachers are the conditions imposed, and these can best be satisfied by entrusting the duty to University rather than to merely College teachers. Class education stands on a different footing, and much of it may be better done, and has been more generally done, by College tutors than by University professors. The class has to be small, or the personal relationship is lost. It is well that the teacher and the student should meet elsewhere than in the lecture-room, and this is easier when all are members of a single College. But the most important condition of all is, that the students who are grouped together in one class should be men of something like equal attainments and not wholly unequal powers. No one can instruct a heterogeneous assemblage brought

together by the accident that they joined the same College at the same time, without sacrificing the brilliant to the dull or the dull to the brilliant. Due selection and grouping is of the essence of all class instruction. Within certain limits this is possible in a large College, or in an association of small Colleges, and to a certain moderate extent it has been practised; but it is obvious that in dealing with advanced subjects studied by comparatively few, the only possible way of securing satisfactory grouping of students is to select and arrange them from the widest possible field. Hence it seems to follow that the teachers of the University should not only undertake the duty of delivering public lectures, but should also have committed to them, rather than to College officers, the direction of the classes occupied with the highest subjects of University study, leaving the greater part of the instruction of this kind still in the hands of College tutors and lecturers. On some such principle as this it would seem that the work should be apportioned between the College and the University. But whether it is the tutors and lecturers of the College or the professors and readers of the University who have to conduct the studies of selected classes, there is always present the danger that they may fail—I might almost say the certainty of failure—if they forget the lesson which has been taught by the practice of private tutors. The man who reads with such assistance prospers in his work because his teacher understands him and feels with him—and this is possible, because the relation between them is commonly not only intimate, but prolonged. The private tutor, in fact, becomes a friend as well as an instructor, and without some such bond as this, class instruction loses half its value. Nor is there any reason why this sympathy should be excluded by the fact that the teacher holds an official position. The real obstacle comes from a different source. Instead of allowing a tutor or professor to carry the same class through a continued series of cognate studies, the common practice has been to allot some narrow department to each public teacher, and to leave every student to

procure the guidance which he needs, not, as in the case of private tuition, from two or three instructors, who between them are able to cover the whole ground, but from a succession of different teachers, each of whom loses his class just when he has begun to acquire a personal acquaintance with their capacities and to understand the treatment which they require. Some little skill in organisation is required to counteract this tendency, but the difficulty is by no means insuperable, and no trouble can be too great which will add to the powers and opportunities of University and College teachers the one element of strength which in the past has given to the private tutor his great preponderance over them.

In order to achieve this end it is absolutely necessary that the work of the University and the College should be effectually co-ordinated and combined. A thoughtful distribution of labour which shall apportion the whole educational duty among the authorised teachers, whether of the College or the University, in such a way as to gain from each human unit of the entire machine the full efficiency of which his natural powers are capable, is the great desideratum. Speaking of the University with which I am best acquainted, I know that at Cambridge much hopeful effort is directed to this end ; and if the details of the growing organisation can only be made worthy of the zeal and ability of those who are engaged in tuition, the grand problem of obtaining the maximum results from a combined University and College staff will have been finally and successfully solved. The present time is—there as elsewhere—one of transition and progress. But even now great strides have been made in advance. The doors of College lecture-rooms have been opened to the whole University on the one hand—while on the other the numerical strength of the Professoriat, and its subordinate grades of teachers, is being rapidly increased, so as to enable the University to bear its due share in work which had formerly been cramped by being committed exclusively to officials whose field of labour was circumscribed by College walls.

Every day we see the waste of power which was the inevitable consequence of divided action gradually but steadily diminished, while the traces of a not unworthy, but still a rather mischievous jealousy, which were once discernible between the rival organisations of the College and the University, are fast disappearing under the influence of the sympathy which comes out of united effort. If this tightening of the bonds between College and University is—as I cannot but think it is—a subject for congratulation, it would soon cease to be so if it led to any absolute merger of the one body in the other. It is well that in their educational functions the larger and the lesser corporations should be to some extent assimilated, but their distinctive features should never be lost.

We may say of them that

“In the long years liker must they grow”

But we must add with the poet that their

“dearest bond is this
Not like to like but like in difference.”

There are qualities in College organisation which cannot be transferred unimpaired to the University. The College is the undergraduate's home, in the largest and highest sense of the word. It is to him as the regiment is to the soldier, the source of that *esprit de corps* which we in England feel, perhaps, as much as any nation in the world, though our language supplies us with no word to describe it. It is emulation unstained by selfish ambition; and, however emulation may be undervalued by doctrinaire philosophers, it is a perennial fountain of energy which no institution can afford to despise. In these aspects, more than anything, the value of a College system is conspicuous; and a University which is supported by an organisation of the kind has a power not only of teaching but of training, which no mere staff of instructors, however distinguished, could possibly acquire over students bound

by no ties or associations except such as are derived from the common lecture-hall and the common examination.

That there is another side to the picture is not to be questioned. It is not every one who has the time or the means to spend three important years of his life as a resident in a College, and our institutions would be very defective if opportunities for University study were denied to those who must seek them under less burdensome conditions. Whether the needs of this class of students can be best met by distinct Universities, organised like that of London, with special regard to them, or by the introduction of unattached students into the old Collegiate Universities, with some relaxation of the customary conditions of residence, is a question which will soon be decided by experience. There are difficulties in harmonising in one centre arrangements so differing in character as those which experiments now in course of trial are seeking to combine. It is essential that the new elements thus imported, should not be allowed to destroy or impair the distinctive residential character of the old Universities ; but this is not likely to be forgotten, and non-Collegiate students will soon indicate by their choice of places of study whether their interests can be best promoted in association with the old Universities, or in bodies more especially framed to meet their requirements. This is essentially a practical question, which experience only can solve. The time has not yet arrived when any very decided answer can be given ; but, whatever the result may be, the considerations which recommend the union with a University of Residential Colleges, will retain all their force. The combination will never cease to be the best arrangement for those students whose circumstances enable them to avail themselves of it.

One question remains. Assuming that either on the lines which I have traced, or on some other basis, the relations between College and University can be made most effectually to answer the purpose of education, is it necessary and would it be right to modify them in any way with the object of affording encouragement to research ? To this

the answer has always seemed to me exceedingly simple. Experience has shown that in any University where education is duly cared for research will take care of itself. And the reason is not far to seek. To those who have the capacity for it, the love of investigation is almost always a dominating passion. Facilities for work and means of existence are the only aids that are needed. And a University with associated Colleges, so organised as to secure the services of her most promising students, will run no risk of seeing research neglected. That original investigation is stimulated rather than impeded by being associated with educational duties has been declared by some of the most eminent workers in almost every University in the world. The only conditions which need to be stipulated in the interests of research are first, that the amount of labour exacted from University and College teachers should be kept within such moderate bounds as to leave a reasonable margin of leisure for the prosecution of original work ; and secondly, that the emoluments, whether derived from endowments or from fees, should suffice for the simple necessities of a life of study. There is no difficulty in satisfying these requirements, and we may, I believe, safely rest in the assurance that the constitution which is best in the interests of education will be the best also in the interests of research.

ON THE RELATIONS OF PROVINCIAL COLLEGES TO A UNIVERSITY.

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PROVINCIAL Colleges and their relations to a University is a large question, and would require for its adequate discussion a larger acquaintance with the subject than I can

pretend to have. I propose, therefore, to employ the time at my disposal in dealing with the result of actual experience gained at the provincial college of which I am the secretary. I do not propose to treat of the relationship of such college to the Universities of London and Victoria, for that is well understood, and needs no discussion.

We come, then, to the two ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the terms of the proposition with which we have to deal may be enunciated in the following form: What relations should exist between a provincial college like that at Nottingham and a University like that of Oxford or Cambridge? Let us consider what is a provincial college such as that founded at Nottingham, so that we may have a clear idea of the subject. This college grew out of the wants of the district. There is in Nottingham a very successful Mechanics' Institute. In the buildings belonging to this institute, and under its care, science classes in connection with the Science and Art Department of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, grew up and settled into an institution recognised and permanent. The accommodation afforded by the Mechanics' Institute for the class rooms was very cramped. There was no adequate laboratory, and the growth of the other departments of the institute constantly pressed upon the space that could be devoted to the science classes. It became a necessity either to enlarge the buildings of the institute, or to obtain fresh ones for the science classes.

At the same time that the successful science classes were struggling with insufficient means, there had been developing in the town the system of instruction known as the University Extension Lectures. These lectures were given and the classes in connection with them were held, during a period of six years in schoolrooms and chapels, and any other public rooms that could be obtained for the purpose. These places were oftentimes very unsuitable. They were situate at different parts of the town, and could not be secured regularly even for one course of lectures. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the number of persons

steadily attending these lectures and classes appeared to justify the opinion that there was a decided want in the educational necessities of the town which could not be overlooked.

There was also a movement afoot amongst the working-men, who expressed their wish by resolutions passed at representative meetings, and by memorials, to obtain the advantages of technical education.

The Public Libraries Act had been in force in the town for many years, and had proved most successful. The buildings in which the Natural History Museum and the Free Library and Reading Rooms were situate, were wholly inadequate, and it became imperative that the Town Council should provide new and commodious buildings.

At this juncture of favouring circumstances a public spirited citizen offered the council a sum of £10,000 in aid of the necessary expenditure.

This offer compelled the council to take definite and immediate action.

The Town Council, fortunately foreseeing that public opinion was drifting in the direction of a central institution for the advanced educational requirements, in the year 1874 acquired considerable enabling powers from Parliament under a local Act. They were therefore in a position, when the emergency arose, to address themselves to the question, and in the year 1879 it was resolved to erect a substantial and handsome pile of buildings where the various educational wants of the town could be met, and suitable means provided for those who had passed the usual school-age, and yet might wish to continue their studies under systematic teaching by skilled and competent professors and teachers. Hence the pile of buildings known as University College, Nottingham. Perhaps the cost of the college, with the land upon which it stands, is not less than £100,000. It must be remembered, however, that at least two-thirds of this expenditure belongs to the Free Libraries, Reading Rooms, and Natural History Museum, and that only one-third belongs to the college proper. The college has three

large lecture theatres, two lecture halls, a large chemical laboratory, and a physical laboratory; a considerable number of class rooms, and, in a set of temporary buildings, provision has been made for technical education. The funds available for the maintenance of the buildings, and the endowment of the college, are from gifts and bequests, about £600 a-year; but this is supplemented by an annual grant from the Town Council, from special funds under its control available for that purpose, of a sum of about £4000. Although this grant is dependent upon an annual vote of the Town Council, there is no reason to doubt of its permanency, so long as the college shows results to justify the expenditure.

The Governing Body is a Committee, the majority of whose members are annually appointed by the Town Council, partly from their own body, and partly from persons outside their own body. The other members of the Committee are appointed by certain of the working men of the town, by the nominee of the donor of £10,000, and by each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London.

The staff of the College consists of five Professors—four of them graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge, and the other a graduate of the London University. There is also a large staff of teachers, and several of these are graduates of the above-named Universities.

There are about 1500 students in the various classes.

The advantages of the college are open to all. There are three terms in a year, and a student can obtain admission to the lectures and classes, in any one subject, in a term, for the small fee of five shillings. Even this sum can be reduced under special circumstances; and there are already several free scholarships tenable at the college.

We have thus the machinery for turning out good educational work; but the most important question the Committee of Management had to face was that of the curriculum. It was easy to dispose of the Science Classes

theretofore held in the Mechanics' Institution. It was equally easy to continue the University Extension Lectures and Classes. It was desirable, however, that a course of study should be established which should thoroughly systematise the educational advantages of all such means of study, and should lead on to wider, more persistent, and continuous work, with more enduring results.

It was decided that isolation was to be deprecated : That it was most important to bring to bear on the college the influence of the great centres of education : That without such influence the chances were the curriculum would become narrow and local, and without the depth or width it was desirable it should acquire. Early in the discussion, the Committee expressed a very decided opinion that degrees for the work done in the college should not be conferred by them ; but the plain necessity of having some definite aims for the students rendered it equally important that degrees marking the attainments of students should be given.

The Corporation, therefore, resolved to approach the older Universities. They memorialised them asking them to affiliate the newly founded college. The reasons given were (*inter alia*) the following :—The desire to adopt such a constitution for the local college as would secure to the students the best practical course of study, and would at the same time enable them to participate in those higher advantages which could then only be obtained by residence in a University.

The conviction that the success of the local college would mainly depend upon the relation which it might bear to the University or Universities to which the Governors would look for granting degrees.

The immense advantage the local college would gain in prestige by affiliation with a University, and the necessity of having their examinations regulated by an Educational Body of great experience and renown.

The University of Cambridge, after considerable discussion, agreed upon a system of affiliation for such

provincial colleges as Nottingham, upon certain conditions. Amongst them are the following :—

The College or Institution must be a place of education, in which the majority of the students are of the age of seventeen at least.

Its members must be incorporated by Royal Charter, or provision must have been otherwise made for its establishment on a permanent and efficient footing and for its government.

The University must be represented on its governing body, and must undertake the conduct of its examinations, or of such of them as the University may from time to time determine.

The advantages offered by affiliation were the following :—

(1) Any person who has completed a course of three years at an affiliated college, and who has passed the examinations connected with that course, is entitled to receive a certificate from the University.

(2) Any person who has completed a course of three years at an affiliated college, and who has obtained honours in the final examination connected with that course, and who has passed an examination in some additional subject or subjects to be prescribed by the University, if it shall think fit, shall be entitled to be excused all the parts of the previous examination, and is further entitled, for the purpose of any provision respecting the standing of members of the University, to reckon the first term kept by residence as the fourth term, and to proceed in due course to the B.A. degree, provided he obtains a degree by one of the Tripos Examinations.

The certificate on completing a college course is not greatly valued. The opportunity of taking a degree in honours after a residence of academical years is a very meagre boon. It is improbable that any one will be found willing to save one year's residence at the great risk of failing to obtain honours in his final examination. The two years may be thrown away.

This half-and-half kind of affiliation does not open to

students in the affiliated college any of the prizes and advantages of students resident in the University. They are not, indeed, admitted to the full privileges of sonship.

The University of Oxford has followed in the footsteps of Cambridge.

It was considered desirable, by a bare majority of the Governors of the College at Nottingham, to take advantage of this scheme as far as it went, and the college has been formally affiliated both to Cambridge and Oxford.

As the scheme for affiliation has been in force only a short time, it is yet too soon to predict results ; but we candidly admit that we regard the present advantages as only the promise of better things to come. On the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, we have taken the half loaf gratefully. The strength of our gratitude is, perhaps, in the proportion to the expectation we have formed, that the other half will speedily be bestowed upon us. Already our professors have memorialised the Governors to confer some mark of distinction on those students who have successfully passed through a defined course of study.

The Committee hesitate, I believe, to accede to the wishes of the professorial staff, as they fear that it will be the beginning of a system of granting degrees, although the titles commonly in use might not, in the beginning, be adopted. At the same time, it is quite certain that, with scarcely an exception, the general body of the students will not proceed to either Oxford or Cambridge in order to comply with the residential requirements of the affiliation scheme.

In fact, in almost every large town capable of sustaining a local college, there are endowed schools, and from these the youth of the town, of sufficient promise, are drafted to the Universities. It is not likely, therefore, that there will be found among the students who remain at the local college, those who would be able or willing to comply with the requirements of residence before proceeding to take their degree.

How then shall the work of the general body of students of such a college be influenced by the Universities? The reply is obvious. The Universities must open their degrees to the main body of the students in such colleges. It may be advisable that the subjects in which candidates must present themselves for examination should cover a wider, and somewhat different field to that required from resident students, and that a longer period of study, at the local college, should be prescribed. When, however, a local college is established on such a foundation as warrants its affiliation by a University, and when such a college provides a professorial and teaching staff to the satisfaction of the University, and enforces a curriculum also approved of by the parent University, and such curriculum is followed by a student through a sufficient course of years, with regular attendance at lectures and classes, and his progress is attested by examinations at the close of each term, and when his general good conduct and demeanour are duly certified, then there seems to be no reason to doubt, that such a degree of culture and intelligence has been attained at the local college as entitles him to take his place in all the examinations of the University, without any distinction between him and those students who have resided at the University. If he prove his attainment by his success the honours and rewards of the University should be open to him.

To the question, What should be the relationship between a provincial college and a University, I answer, therefore, in one word: "Affiliation," that is to say, the provincial college should have for its children the full privileges and advantages enjoyed by their more favoured brethren of the same family at the University.

Affiliation, in this sense, would prove a powerful stimulus to higher education in all the large towns in the country; would give a definite direction to the aims of those who are now labouring in such towns to advance higher education.

It would prevent the local colleges from becoming narrow, provincial, and self-contained, and too limited in their ideas.

It would prevent them falling into decay and inaction, either by the mismanagement of the governing body, or the inefficiency of the staff. For it would bring the local college into active sympathy with the great centres of national educational work.

It would also (be it humbly suggested) react favourably on the Universities, by keeping them informed of the thoughts of men in the great and busy centres of industry, and would enrich their experience with a complete knowledge of the streams of tendency in such populations. The Universities would act as the heart of the higher educational system, and would gain in usefulness by a circulation which carried their rich and vivifying influence to the farthest part of that system, and received back enlarged views and a fuller knowledge of men and things. Surely it may be asserted with modesty that such a relationship would strengthen the older University.

Further, such relationship would do away with the necessity of local colleges granting degrees. No one can feel more strongly than we do the mischief that must arise from increasing the number of bodies granting degrees; and, therefore, we earnestly desire to form part of the existing system of University life, and ask that the attainments of our students may be registered in the way now recognised by the Universities.

It is in this way, and, as it appears to us, in this way only, provincial colleges can be brought under the wise and powerful influence of an ancient University. It is in this way that a University can foster, cherish, direct, and guide the youngest of its children, and become for them a true and living Alma Mater.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. ZERFFI said that to speak on the two papers which had just been read was very difficult, from the want of analogy between them, and to speak upon them together from the point of higher education was perhaps still more difficult. A general principle of education might be settled by a body, representing the different universities, coming together and giving to the whole of the country a certain curriculum. Every single college in England thought it had a right to prescribe the subjects which had to be studied. As to learning German thoroughly, that was considered monstrous; they might teach a little French, just enough to enable the student to ask "How do you do?" What they wanted generally was Latin and Greek, and a little mathematics was allowed. Everything in the higher education in England became more or less a matter of speciality, but general knowledge was what was required, and when a student had received a training of that kind he could enter upon his further studies with a freshness, ardour, and delight which he never could feel if he were merely specially trained. Again, the method of teaching was a most important point. Where did they get their teachers from? There was no proper training college in England, although we had one founded ten or twelve years ago. In Germany they had had them for 184 years because they had recognised there that everyone who wanted to become a teacher must learn the art of teaching. It had been ascertained that no master could attend to more than fifty boys at a time in order to bring out their talents properly, and if any boy showed that he had a talent for philology or mathematics, he was put to those studies. System should be given in the matter of general education, or it was no education at all. In Germany the course of study was one and the same in the 42,000 gymnasiums. It was an immense advantage that the boys were enabled to go to school, as it were, next door to

their own homes, so that they were not separated from their families as boys were in England, who were sent to Rugby, Harrow, or any other public school. Then, in Germany there were forty-two Universities, while in England there were only five. Upon one point he entirely agreed with what had been stated in the papers, that a man ought not to receive his B.A. or M.A. degree simply because he had resided for three years at Oxford or Cambridge. That surely was not enough ; but it was held to be sufficient, just as it was considered enough for a man to enter at one of the Inns of Court for a time to qualify him to become a barrister. We should do in England what those who had the management of education, and who had studied these questions, had done for the last 184 years abroad. Education was education wherever it was given, and the principles of education must always be the same in the main. Nations could not be educated differently, and whether a man was an Hungarian, a Japanese, a Chinese, a German, or an Italian, he must be educated on the general principles upon which in reality education was based, and it was those general principles of education which made all men a-kin. There was but one basis upon which all nations could be united in one brotherhood, and that was the similarity of education. It had been said that we did not want the German system of education in England, because the effect of the German system was to train up all Germans to have the same notions and opinions. But that was not so, because their special talents were cultivated beyond the general education they received. Only with regard to general knowledge in the 42,000 gymnasiums the same education was given at the same hours. Then when the gymnasium was gone through the students had to pass an examination to show whether they were fit to enter the universities. They had to show that they had been proficient in their studies, and then they were admitted to the Universities, where, though the curriculum was the same, the professors taught the subjects in their own way. Afterwards the students

went on to the so-called "bread" sciences, which they would have to cultivate as specialists in order to earn their livelihood. Men educated according to the German system must be, in truth, different individuals from those taught by any other system. Wherever the Germans went they could always earn a living, not because of any special capacity to learn new things, but because they had acquired a thorough general knowledge which they had learned on general principles in their colleges. He could mention as an instance of the different result of English education, that a lord whom he had the honour to know, a very highly-educated man, and who had received his education at Cambridge, where he had learned Latin and mathematics, had told him that he had got his education in after life by reading books and gaining that general knowledge which alone made a man learned. When a German came to London among four and a half millions of human beings, he always found he could live on what he had learned in Germany, and he was very often able to live very comfortably. That showed how different the systems of education in England and Germany must be. Modern languages should not be so neglected as they were in England. It was not at all a question of capacity; the capacity of a nation's brains depended upon the extent and character of the pupils' training, and it was a wrong system to train students as mere specialists, without ever trying to bring out their general reasoning and thinking faculties. Education had proceeded in England on a system which had a political basis, while in Germany the development had always been in the direction of true culture. The education in the schools of a country was everything, and if it were carried out in England on a proper system there would be no question of brain capacity, for there would then be no more powerful nation than the English.

Mr. CHARLES G. HIGGINSON might venture to speak on the subject of the papers, because he had been in something like the battle which Mr. Johnson had described in

Owen's College, Manchester, where he had been for five years. He was there while the battle was raging as to the charter which had since been granted to the Victorian University, and he had been also in Nottingham. Dr. Zerffi's remarks were both true and uncommon. As to that gentleman's weighty remark about there being no freedom of education, that, however, seemed to him to be slightly wrong, but it was at the same time so very much more right than it was wrong that they would do better to take it as it was, and there he would leave it. Dr. Zerffi had said that in studying life and the world, some things were found exceedingly simple, but they gradually got more and more complex in their phenomena, and so it might be said we ascended the scale of science from the simplest mathematics up to the most complex questions of morals. Our intellectual powers were more likely to be defeated as we got higher up the scale, because our certainty decreased as we ascended, and as our certainty decreased our freedom must increase. There could be no doubt that where we were less certain we must be more free. Nevertheless it was on the other hand quite certain that though we had not the same degree of certainty in moral science that we had in mathematical science, still protection by its laws was exceedingly necessary, and those laws, though they were less certain, were distinctly more valuable. He would qualify Dr. Zerffi's remarks by saying that some little allowance must be made for the baffling nature of the complexity of the sciences as we ascended the scale. With regard to which curriculum should be taken for the higher education, he had gathered from what Dr. Zerffi had said that there need be no difficulty at all upon that point. Science should be studied for the purpose of general education in all its branches; the very name "University" seemed to imply the unity of knowledge, and that the universe was to be studied. It implied universality in the objects of teaching, and instruction in knowledge; and in the most happy way it expressed the universality of the people who were going to study there.

It was quite clear, therefore, as to what curriculum they must take in the higher education—it must be a cyclopædic education. Life being as short as unfortunately it was, a great deal had necessarily to be left out. At present in the Universities people were taught in classes, not for general education purposes, but rather as if they were going to become classical professors; but the fact was that not one in a thousand of those students would become a classical professor. People were educated in biology as if they were all going to be biologists or medical men or professors of some sort; but only the smallest percentage of them ever intended to become either biologists or medical men. All that must be radically altered, and he did not hesitate to say that at present, with this prolonged and now mischievous specialisation in the Universities, we had nothing which we could call in England a really liberal education. We looked in vain for it anywhere, simply because those specialties were put forward, and all the strength of our endowments had been pushed on to those lines of specialisations, while general education, which alone was worthy of the title “University,” was really absent. He could not support Dr. Zerffi’s remark concerning residential qualification for a university, and it seemed to him that it had been ever so much too highly praised in Mr. Hemming’s paper. He thought, on the contrary, that very residence which was supposed to be a qualification, was a great deal more a disqualification in reality. That idea was simply, to translate it into other words, a remnant of monasticism, and to hold out that monasticism as a qualification instead of being, as it really was, a great drawback, and to put that separation from the family as a qualification, and education while remaining in the family as a drawback, when it was really an immense advantage, was the greatest mistake that could possibly be made. He knew nothing more mischievous, or which could strike a more violent blow at the morals of the nation, than the separation of students in our modern life from their homes, and the depriving them of that social

unity of spirit which arises from remaining in the home at the most important time of the ordinary life of a citizen, namely, his teaching and preparation for the duties of life.

Dr. N. HEINEMANN said, having had during his long residence in this country considerable experience in the higher walks of education, he felt that a slavish imitation of scholastic institutions abroad might not be considered to be advisable. The writer of the first paper believed the purposes for which Universities, and such like institutions, existed to be the increase of knowledge and the training of students. Whilst agreeing with him, he would say that the character of the knowledge to be imparted should harmonise with the best aspirations of the epoch and the requirements of the times. A previous speaker saw in the residential college life "remnants of monasticism." Mr. Hemming, on the other hand, saw many advantages in it. Mr. Johnson in his valuable paper advocated the substitution of home influence. He was glad to find that the reader of the second paper took into serious consideration the requirements of modern life. The position which some of the newly-established colleges occupied, was perhaps not quite defined. He would like to see introduced into this country Realschulen, as they existed in Prussia—perhaps somewhat modified in their organisation, so as to suit better their new surroundings. He begged, in conclusion, to be allowed to refer to three points which had been mentioned either in the papers or in the discussion. With reference to the University Extension Lectures, alluded to by Mr. Johnson, he felt inclined to think that the meeting would be obliged, if he (Mr. Johnson) would state his experience. Had they been successful in his district? Was there an increase or decrease of pupils? Was the complaint—sometimes made—that some of the lecturers were too young, and not always experienced and skilful enough to engage the attention of their audiences, well founded? As to the teaching of Modern Languages, which, as a matter of course, ought to form one of the most essential features in the modern schools, he had no hesitation in

saying that they ought to be taught by well-educated natives. He knew that many headmasters preferred Englishmen to foreigners as teachers. It was said that the foreign teacher did not understand English school-life, &c. In many cases—but not in all—this might be true. It was acknowledged, however, that at the present moment there were not enough English teachers who understood foreign languages sufficiently well. There were still too many heads of schools who looked upon the study of foreign languages as a matter of very little importance. Let us hope there will soon come the time when the importance of a thorough knowledge of modern languages, will be understood by all. Political Economy—and this was the last point he wished to refer to—was, to his great regret, not studied in all of these modern colleges. In his opinion, this so-called dismal science was one of the most interesting studies, and deserved a place in the curriculum of a well organised college of our days.

Mr. BOURKE said with regard to the professional qualifications, he thought that Cambridge University, as well as Oxford, had acted somewhat wisely in requiring residence at those Universities before granting degrees. There were two kinds of residence, the residence in Universities, and such residence as they had in the Training Colleges for Masters in this country, which was the worst kind of residence that could possibly be imagined. The man lived among men of the same class of mind, and remained with them shut up from the world for two years, and during that time they had no touch with the higher education of the country in the true sense of the word. He was very sorry to say that, but he knew intimately the life of the Training Colleges. If these in London were made affiliated colleges with the London University, and if the men were encouraged on leaving to pass the Matriculation Examinations like the Gymnasium Examinations in Germany, they could then go on to residence. Three terms would be sufficient, and they would then get the full benefit of residence. As he took it, the University training was not so much viewed regarding

the way of teaching, but it was looked upon as giving a man that social experience and that breadth of view by association with minds of another class than those which they had previously made. That was what was useful to them in the imparting of culture. In some of the other sections the question of college education had come up, and one important point in connection with that was the teaching of boys and girls together in the school, and of men and women in the Universities. No doubt the delegate from Philadelphia could give them his experience of teaching in the United States. We had at the present time the Girton College at Cambridge, but he supposed that with our monastic notions, which had been mentioned, it was considered necessary to prevent the association of the women at Girton as much as possible with the men in the other Colleges. That was a fundamental mistake, as he thought, in education, and that was a subject of so much importance that it ought to have been made a special subject at the Conference. We made the mistake of separating, instead of educating the members of the family, boys and girls together, as they did in America. We had two or three Board Schools, however, where that experiment had been tried; there was one at Hampstead Hill and another at Chelsea where the girls and boys were taught together, and the results of that teaching compared favourably with the results of the teaching at any of the best of our other schools where the boys and girls were taught separately. If we could introduce into England that co-educational system, we should get rid of our monastic ideas altogether, and residence then would do more good, and would do more to abolish some of the evils of separate University life than anything else could do. The Training Colleges should be brought more into connection with the higher education of the country, and if we could do that we should have done a very grand thing for the country.

The Rev. Dr. DAWES said that as far as he could judge from reading the papers, which he had not been fortunate enough to hear read, Mr. Hemming's paper appeared to him

to express what he had very often himself thought, if he might dare to speak as an outsider, never having been in residence. He was sorry when a question of such importance as this was being discussed not to see representatives of other Universities or colleges present. The relation between university and college was a peculiar one in this country. In the ancient cloisters they studied to develop knowledge to the glory of their great Creator, and that was the origin of our modern colleges. Then our Universities became developed, and from the time of the Reformation onwards we had to look in connection with our Universities to the general historical development of our country, and take into account the stormy political periods through which we had passed. We had the period of the Revolution, then the Restoration, then another Revolution, and at last the reign of the House of Hanover with kings on the throne who could not speak English; but we had in the result attained a national development of which we were now enjoying the great benefit. We were now setting ourselves to work upon that basis and seeking to do that which could not well be done in the more difficult days when we were in the toils and throbbing of great national struggles. The benefit of University life consisted in the assemblage of men of various minds, the agglomeration of students who came together living in the same town and forming a large congregation of science, of earnest students desiring to hear certain professors, and they thus formed among themselves an *esprit de corps* and a University. He was very glad to see that the tendency of opinion seemed to be towards the increase of University life. What was wanted now was a more general teaching power by the University. With regard to the students following their studies upon going from the schools; in France, Germany, and Italy, they, on going into the University, entered with a choice of study in any of the faculties. With us, a young man coming to the University found much the same course of study before him as he had had at school. He had to read certain classical books and had

to go in for Greek and Latin competitions, and there was a large field of mathematics before him, but it was the same kind of study that he had had at school, and therefore the University teaching was after all for him no more than he had already received training in. Two kinds of teaching were required, and we must learn to combine those two for the sake of our schools and Universities, and of education at large, so that a young man going to the Universities should go in at once for the faculties. He should then begin to study something different from what he had studied at school, where he had mastered his school subjects. He would thus enter into higher culture, and not sit with a book construing a little Latin and Greek to a tutor, but he would sit before a man of ability and listen to his teaching in the faculty which he was to follow. That was one reason, he thought, why the system of University lectures should be kept up. The great mover in all these matters should be the University. Young men would thus feel that it was not scholastic work they were now doing, but that they were preparing in reality for their duties in life. In Mr. Hemming's paper it was well stated that the University should develop its power. In a small country like this it was a very great mistake to have Universities all over the country giving their own degrees. He would like to see a central body instead of a number of different bodies and all the colours of the rainbow, acting in the matter, so that when a man had obtained his B.A. or M.A. degree people might know what it really meant.

The CHAIRMAN (Archdeacon Emery) was very sorry to find that he was perhaps the sole representative of Cambridge University present, and possibly that Oxford was not represented at all. He should like to have seen more representatives of the ancient universities present to take part in this most important and valuable discussion. It was quite certain that the systems of the universities must have, as they had had in past days, a most important influence on the history of the country. Therefore it was most essential

that the older universities especially should, to use a common phrase, try to keep touch with the feeling of the country, and to understand what was thought outside the University to be desirable for the country as a whole. He was himself an old University man, and went up from the City of London School which was said to be the brightest jewel in the civic crown. He was the first student who went up to the Universities from that school as the "Times" scholar, in the year 1843, when the Universities were under their old conditions. Certainly then at his school a wider training was generally given the boys than in the other public schools. Dr. Mortimer, the Head Master, took a much more enlarged view of what the curriculum of a boy should be than most other teachers of his day, so that in the several classes they had French and German taught as part of the general instruction; music was likewise introduced, and chemistry, besides a very thorough education in Classics and in Mathematics. The principle of Dr. Mortimer and the principle of the present Head Master, his pupil, was this: that you may, besides pressing on the boys and training them in the ancient studies, which were the chief studies in the old schools, add to a boy's education a great deal of what is called modern learning. He might be permitted to give a little personal history on this matter by way of illustration. In consequence of the system pursued at his school, he went up to Cambridge provided with a store of general knowledge, and was able to work with considerable success, having been very much pushed forward in mathematics. When he went to the University he found that the chief prizes, the Fellowships and the Scholarships, were all given practically for classics and mathematics. The theory of the University was this: that men should, during their three or three and a half years' course, continue their mathematics or classics; that they should first take their degree, and afterwards, having had their minds duly trained and developed by the older studies, should branch off to their several Faculties or specialties. The system forty years ago was that men

who had been a year and a half studying classics and mathematics, elementary science, and a little divinity should pass what was called the "little go" in the usual course of the University; and then that those who perhaps had not very bright intellects, or it might be any very great anxiety to pursue a special line of study, should still go on with the same kind of subjects and pass their examination in them for the ordinary B.A.; but that those who had more power or a greater desire to advance in learning, should go up either in mathematics or in classics. The law then was that nobody should go out in Classical Honours unless he could pass in at least a third class of Mathematical Honours. As was well known, a large number of really good classical men were thus unable to get Classical Honours because they could not get the necessary Mathematical Honours first. All that was gone now. He ventured to pursue his personal history a little the better to explain how this has come about. He remained in College first as assistant tutor and then as tutor, taking also private pupils. In fact, except in not having been master of a college, he had passed through most of the positions open to Fellows of Colleges. He therefore had seen something of the ins and outs of the old University and College systems, and had remained just long enough to see a break up of them, and the introduction of a fresh system. He had been on what was called *The Thirty-nine Articles Syndicate*. That was a peculiar Syndicate which sat for two years, and the results of its discussions formed the turning-point in the history of College and University education. The *Thirty-nine Articles Syndicate* had upon it a great many illustrious men, Dr. Whewell, the present Master of Trinity, his successor, and many other of the leading minds of the University. They discussed with the greatest care the question whether it was desirable to change the nature of the University education—whether they should give up the system he had been explaining, or whether they should retain it—whether they should introduce new Triposes or keep to the old ones

for the B.A. degree, and afterwards let men go in for other Triposes. He must confess that he then stood up for the old system, and fought the question out as bravely as he could. They debated it for a very long time. Dr. Whewell sided at first with the present Master of Trinity in suggesting that there should be a break up of the old system, and that there should be introduced a series of Triposes and a series of Examinations in which men might in all sorts of ways get the B.A. degree. He, with many of the old-fashioned folk, stuck to the old system, and declared that the right principle was first to educate the men and strengthen their faculties, and that when the University had put the mark of its approval upon their attainments in the old studies, they should then go forward and take up their various courses in other subjects. Dr. Whewell, as he had stated, at first sided with their opponents; but he was proud to say that Dr. Whewell was so much impressed, at all events with their pertinacity, that he sided with the old-fashioned afterwards, so that they managed for a time to hold their ground. But soon the modern views prevailed, and one Tripos and then another Tripos got introduced. The result at the present moment was (and he was not complaining of it in the least) that whilst classics and mathematics were to some extent fairly holding their ground, men were now taking their degrees in many other ways and giving up their time to special studies in other directions. Gradually some of the Fellowships were being given to the new studies, and that was the way to get the new studies forwarded. Whilst the Colleges continued to give their Fellowships, which were now only for seven years (except in the case of some special arrangement by which they could be kept longer), only for the old studies, and but a few for the new, they would only get a small number of men to take up the new studies, because, after all, pounds, shillings and pence had their effect. In the course of Dr. Zerffi's and Dr. Heinemann's remarks that point was touched upon, and it seemed to him that whilst they were aiming at a very much wider curri-

culum in England, as well as a more uniform one for our schools and Universities, yet there was an idea in their minds that there should be a first course of mental development for strengthening and bringing out the powers of the students' minds before they passed into their specialties. His fear was that at the present moment in the Universities, and in the country through the Universities—because the Universities had a very great influence by their examinations even on the ordinary schools of the country—they were getting specialised, and the old idea of first developing the minds of boys and men by the several courses of study in classics and mathematics was rather passing out. By keeping on the boys at school and entering them for examinations, and providing for them quicker-learned books this development was being pushed forward with regard to boys of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age, so that students in the University instead of going on for two years or more in the old studies were inclined to rush at once into specialties. Speaking as a very humble member of the University of Cambridge, because his duties now lay in other directions, he would venture to give his opinion upon this matter. He had great sympathy with the views which had been expressed at the meeting, and quite agreed that it was absolutely necessary to move on. They could not keep in the old lines which he had tried to keep his University in thirty-five years ago. At the same time very great care was necessary lest the educationalists of the present day should go too far in the other direction, and really injure the progress of sound and efficient learning by at once pressing the students' minds immaturity into specialties. In respect to the point of monasticism he had noted one remark which had been made, that Germany had not got the college influence which England had ; but he fancied that Germany had not the fellowships and endowments either in connection with colleges that England had. He asked himself whether it was worth while for England to give those up because Germany had not got them. Upon the basis of an old

fable about a certain fox who had not got a tail, he did not think it would be well for other foxes to cut off their tails to be like him.

Dr. HEINEMANN would, on the contrary, suggest the adding of another tail.

The CHAIRMAN (Archdeacon Emery) thought it was a good thing to have the Colleges in connection with the Universities. The only point to consider was how should the Colleges be induced to work with the Universities, and in what way the Colleges and Universities should work together, and be the centre of influence for the schools of the country. In the past, no doubt, the Fellowships were looked upon as great prizes. Boys and men looked eagerly for them, though they did not perhaps produce so much good for the country as they should. Under the monastic system each monk tried to get a good living ; it was a living for life unless he took a wife. He was not allowed to take a wife, but every now and then thought he would like a wife, and that, of course, created vacancies. That monastic 'Monk-fellow' system was, however, almost broken down, and one great means of breaking it down, had been the introduction of the lady question. Dr. Potts, a well-known Cambridge man, who was always at work, always reading and always writing, and who took a great interest in this question, was really the great instrument in breaking up this monastic system. And it was quite evident that the College Fellows were ready for it, because the moment the Act was passed enabling College Fellows to marry, thirty-seven at once took wives, so that there was a positive difficulty in finding houses at the time in Cambridge for them. Therefore there was no doubt in the world that, with the alteration of the law, and, he might say, with the introduction of Ladies' Colleges, the monastic system was decidedly breaking down, and there was a constant sympathy between the Gentlemen's Colleges and the Ladies' Colleges, so that the Fellows, instead of residing in the Colleges as they did before, were now residing outside them in the town. That, of course, was gradually breaking up, and must

ultimately break up, the college system. He had heard of Heads of Houses complaining that they had no resident tutors. The tutor simply came in to look after his lists, and to see his boys in the class, and then he walked off to his house, and, it was to be hoped, to his studies. He mentioned that, because he felt very much that, whilst they endeavoured to meet the wants of the times, they should not be too hasty in trying to meet them with nostrums, but should let the old gradually melt into the new. He ventured to think that our English method was not really a bad one—arriving at a good system by going through a great many experiments, and making, perhaps, a good many mistakes in the course of them. He had come to the conclusion that a new era was opening to the Colleges and Universities, and he sympathised with what had been suggested with respect to local Colleges. It would show practical wisdom on the part of the Universities to be as liberal as they could to those local Colleges. He had felt of late that there was some danger of the old Universities, notwithstanding their reputation and large endowments, being left rather on a hill far away from the large populations in the vales, unless they did somehow or other extend their influence, and get a hold in a certain way upon the students in the local Colleges. He was, therefore, inclined, though he might be considered as a traitor almost to the Universities in saying so, to give the degrees to men who can pass the examinations, if they have resided and studied properly in the local Colleges. If residence in the Universities was really a better thing, both socially and intellectually, than the residence in the country, it would certainly be recognised, and if that were done, depend upon it the best of the young men would come and reside in them. It was not merely because a man could put “M.A.” or “B.A., Cam.” after his name that gave him position or influence in society. People who had to fill up vacancies would ask not merely where did a man reside, but whether he was really a good man suited for the post. If, therefore, residence was a good

thing, it would be certain to find its value in the market, and residence in the Universities, being of value, would not fall off.

Dr. DAWES would be sorry to be supposed to have advocated the establishment of Universities and Colleges without buildings, like the German Universities. On the contrary, he was a great admirer of our English Colleges as they were constituted.

The CHAIRMAN invited a hearty vote of thanks to the writers of the two papers, and to the gentlemen who had taken part in the interesting discussion which had followed upon them.

The vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. JOHNSON said, after what had fallen from the Chairman, there would be no necessity to detain the audience. He could only wish that they had the advantage of the Chairman's eloquence instead of his own feeble advocacy in this matter. They all felt a deep debt of gratitude to the University of Cambridge, which had led the van in extending its aid to the efforts which had been made in this direction. He also felt very strongly that had it not been for the influence of some of the leading men of Cambridge, who came to see them constantly, and helped to put them on a proper basis, they would not have been able to do as much as they had done. The name of Professor James Stewart would be a household word with them for his very valuable aid in that respect. He agreed in the views taken by the learned German Doctors, so far as they applied to Nottingham, and that was one result of the influence which Cambridge had had upon them—they had a very wide curriculum, so that young men and women were educated together in the same classes in their Colleges with no distinction of sex. They could take up, if they liked, the ancient languages, classics, mathematics, physics, modern languages, either German, French, or Italian, and, if they liked, they could stick to English literature; when they came in, they chose their own subjects. He might say that he did not send his own

boys to this college ; he sent them to Oxford, as everybody who valued the associations and educational advantages obtained at the older Universities would do. He did not think the local Institutions would ever take away a single boy in that competition, but he thought they would tend to foster a spirit which would affect Universities for good in the end. People would value education more and more, and a desire to send their sons to the University would gradually be developed among them. They were now dealing with young men of seventeen and eighteen, who came out of the High Schools and Board Schools, trained to a certain extent, and who demanded something better. Those young men asked to be better educated, and in Nottingham alone there were three thousand of them. In other large towns there were at least as many. Are these thousands of young men and women in large towns to be left to their own devices, and told to go out and amuse themselves as best they could at the music-halls, or at more doubtful places of entertainment? They should not be left alone to educate themselves, and get an empirical education from masters who were at liberty to do just what they pleased. There should be some sort of attempt made in connection with the old Universities to educate them. He thought it would be much better for the Universities to take up a Local College, with its three thousand students, and say what they were to do. He would mention to them one fact with reference to a large town where there were 1500 students. It was found that those who came up for German and Greek were always about equal, and those who entered for Latin and those who entered for French were about in the proportion of half French to one-third for Latin. That was, no doubt, owing to the peculiar way in that case in which the French teacher, who was very popular, was able to interest and address her audience ; but that fact showed that the two courses of education lie alongside each other. The training of the mind could be accomplished by the aid of either set of machinery. Let a man choose the

medium by which his faculties could be brought out, and let him take up, if he chose, modern languages or the classics. It was a singular thing that people should choose to go to the classics voluntarily, without any prizes being offered for that study; the prizes would be for French and German, and not only so, but those were the two languages which would enable a man to command better pay at his employment in the warehouse or in the office where he would afterwards be engaged, while Latin and Greek would not help him, and yet, notwithstanding that, many young men and women in Nottingham took up the latter studies as well as the former. Therefore, whilst he would ask the Universities to take them into their system, he also asked for a wide curriculum, making the standard as high as they liked, even higher than the standard applied to their own *alumni*. Let them, however, have the same advantages from the same teaching on the same lines. After the students had been trained at one of the local Colleges, they were entitled to ask the same advantages as were given at the Universities. The University Extension Lectures were very useful up to a certain point, but they never would be sufficient to keep persons working year after year. Upon any subject, by attending the lectures, students obtained, no doubt, some knowledge; just a sufficient smattering to give them an interest in the particular studies, and unless they had points to aim at along the road, it appeared to him that they should always have students falling off. Let them make the goal as far off or as difficult as they liked, but he would ask the Universities to give them a goal. If that were done, they would work up to it, and they would be content with it if only a few of their men could get through the examination, because the influence would pervade the whole of their studies. They were trying to do the best they could, groping in the dark, to find a solution of the problem, and if they did not find it, they hoped that somebody else would. The solution they wanted was the kindly influence not of the mere examining

body, which stood coldly apart from them, but they wanted the old Universities of England to come to them, watching over them with loving fatherly care, watching their progress, and rewarding them when they found they were doing well.

Mr. BROUGH (Lecturer at University College, Aberystwith) would ask Mr. Johnson's opinion whether it would not be possible for local colleges themselves, by mutual communication and co-operation, to organise a system of examinations which would be more suitable to the tone and wants of the pupils they had, independently altogether of the old Universities. To him it seemed rather a humiliating thing that the new colleges should go about asking the old Universities, with their different traditions, working among a different class of people, and not professing to understand the wants of the general population, to prescribe what should be taught in the provincial colleges. Would it not be possible for the provincial colleges to organise themselves in some way which would command the confidence of the country?

Mr. JOHNSON was afraid that, with their want of experience, and speaking of the experience which they had in his own college of what was best, it would be unreliable for them altogether to try and support one another. The Universities were moving on with the times. There was no question about that; all the evidence confirmed that, and was conclusive on that point. They thought, too, that by clinging to the skirts of the Universities they might make them move a little faster, and their best course was to affiliate themselves to the old Universities. If the Universities would not come to the Colleges, and would not recognise them, they would then have to solve the problem themselves, and probably in some such way as had been suggested by Mr. Brough, but he hoped that day was far distant.

The CHAIRMAN (Archdeacon Emery) suggested that where there was a number of experienced physicians and surgeons available, it would be wise to obtain their advice in

dealing with disease. If it were desired to consider the best means of aiding large institutions to better carry out for the great mass of the people certain particular things upon which those physicians and surgeons were competent to give advice, he thought they should at all events try to get the benefit of their old experience, whilst at the same time trying to explain to them what the new wants were. But if a series of young institutions in different parts of the country came together to consider what sort of curriculum they should adopt, without taking the older institutions into council, they might have a very fine-looking system, but they would cut themselves off from connection with the great fountains of learning in the country, and probably the stream that they would produce would not be so pure or so deep as the ancient stream. Therefore he thought it would be better for them to consult the ancient knowledge available to them, whilst at the same time doing what it was quite evident they were doing, poking up the old Universities, so to speak, and not merely accepting what they said, but assisting them really in changing themselves. Modern progress in learning was having a most important effect upon the ancient Universities, and, as Dr. Dawes had said, there were plenty of changes going on. One great complaint was that there was no rest. He hoped before finally departing and cutting away from the old, they would see whether they could not get the old to work with the new.

Dr. HEINEMANN remarked that it had been said that Chairman was the best who did not speak; but they had been favoured to-day in having a Chairman who not only spoke, but spoke remarkably well, and who had given them an address which contained very valuable information. He had given them a very graphic and realistic description of University life and its bearing on modern times. Whilst upholding everything good in the old University teaching, he showed a thorough and keen appreciation of modern aspirations. He begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Dr. DAWES, in seconding the resolution, hoped that the Colleges would maintain a spirit of friendship for the Universities, and would not think that there was anything derogatory in their going to the Universities to seek affiliation with them. He hoped to see that manifested on the part of the Universities which had been spoken of by Mr. Johnson, a father's feeling towards his children, and on the part of the Colleges a feeling of affection towards their father the University, and there could be no doubt that that desirable state of things could be best brought about by the advocacy of such men as their Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, trusted that the discussion would be profitable for the whole country, and he, certainly, as representing the old Universities, felt great satisfaction in the thought, that whilst there was great anxiety everywhere to do the best for the intellectual progress of the country, there was at the same time a very strong desire to make that progress in connection with the Universities.

[The Section adjourned till 2 o'clock.]

On resuming, Archdeacon EMERY again occupied the chair.

THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

By Mrs. HENRY SIDGWICK.

THE general arguments for and against the extension of University Education to Women have been of late years so often brought before the public that I could not hope to give them any freshness or interest for the present audience. And since all the English Universities, with the single exception of the University of Durham, have now at least to some extent opened their examinations to women, the

question may be said to have arrived at the stage at which these general arguments have very much lost their practical importance. It has, therefore, seemed to me that I might more profitably occupy the short space of the present paper in giving some results of our Cambridge experience of the academic education of women, with which nine years of active participation in the management of Newnham College has made me familiar. I shall endeavour to show what are the motives and aims with which the students who have received this education have come to Cambridge, what advantages they have actually gained there, and how far those advantages have been attended with drawbacks and risks which may be prevented or reduced by care and forethought. I shall touch also on the connexion of the University Examinations with the ordinary subjects of a girl's education.

It is true that our experience at Cambridge, at Newnham and Girton Colleges, is not long, and that some of my own conclusions have inevitably been based on knowledge of individuals and their circumstances of a still more limited kind; and it may easily be that they may be contradicted by wider experience in the future. Still, in a subject so often approached, and even traversed, by a "high priori road," these empirical results may be of some interest and use, though necessarily to a great extent provisional and tentative. I say the experience has not been long, but I believe that many people more or less interested in the subject are not aware how long it has been. At any rate, several persons who took part in the newspaper controversy that preceded the recent action of the University of Oxford, appeared entirely ignorant of the fact that it is now nearly fifteen years since women began to prepare successfully for the honour examinations of the University of Cambridge, though these examinations were formally opened to them only three years ago.

Without counting those who have this year completed their University course, about 392 students have been sent out into the world from Newnham and Girton, of

whom 127 passed honour examinations, and during the last academic year there have been between the two colleges 146 students in residence. If we inquire about the subsequent history of these 392 students we find that about 205 are in different ways engaged in teaching (including 5 who are married), 3 are preparing for the medical profession, 11 have employments of other kinds, 2 have gone into sisterhoods, about 47 have married, or are on the point of doing so, 102 others are living at home without, so far as we know, being engaged in earning their living, 9 (including 2 married ones) have died, and there are about 20 respecting whom I have failed to obtain information.

From these statistics it appears that the majority of students have been preparing for professional work, chiefly the work of teaching. It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that they come exclusively from the class which supplied female teachers thirty years ago, because, during that period, this class has been considerably enlarged—partly from the increase of honourable and independent posts (due in the teaching profession mainly to the increase in number and importance of high schools for girls), but still more from the steadily growing feeling among the daughters of professional men that they ought to earn their own living. It would be interesting to try to ascertain the causes of this growing feeling; perhaps one of them may be found in the diminution of necessary domestic work due to the increased manufacture on a large scale of articles of food and clothing, and to the invention of the sewing machine and other labour-saving apparatus; but, however this may be, of the fact that more women seek serious work outside their homes than was formerly the case, there can be no doubt.

But though the professional class of students is in the majority, there remains an important class who come from a disinterested love of knowledge and desire for intellectual training. It is, I believe, the universal opinion of all who have watched the work at Cambridge, that the intermixture of these two classes has been a gain to both,—the presence

of the one tending to foster the spirit of steady and concentrated work, and of the other to promote a greater interest in the subjects taught for their own sake.

And this leads me to one effect of the action of the Universities as regards women, which I cannot but look on as a danger—I mean the tendency to exaggerate the importance of examinations. No doubt they are important. They are valuable to professional students as a guarantee of their attainments, to others as a stimulus to work and a measure of work done, and—together with other elements of a University Education—they may help all to form a correct estimate of their powers, and to avoid falling into either of the almost equally unfortunate errors of over-rating and of under-rating themselves. But, like other stimulants, they may be used in excess, and the power to work without them weakened; and just because they are useful, and because on the whole most young students, whether professional or not, should probably be advised to prepare for one, they easily get to be regarded as an end in themselves—as the object to be gained by study, instead of merely a means of guiding, stimulating, and testing it.

But it is perhaps not at the Universities themselves that this exaggerated estimate of examinations most tends to occur. At any rate the privilege of being examined is not what I find students looking back to as the greatest advantage they have derived from coming to Cambridge. The abler students value very fully the teaching and the help towards independent study they obtain there, and the more or less direct contact with those who are advancing knowledge, which together constitute so large a part of the recognised advantages of a University Education. And I have hardly known any student who has not appreciated and gained by what may be called the social advantages, the freedom to develop her own life, the companionship of other students, and all the widened sympathy, sharpened intellect, increased power of expression, and opportunities for forming valuable friendships which this companionship involves. No doubt these social advantages may for some be obtained

elsewhere; but for a young woman living at home, with somewhat restricted means, and in a somewhat restricted society, it is not usually easy to obtain them, and to many students I have known, their life at college has given a new idea of what life can be.

And here we may conveniently refer to a question often raised in discussion—how far in the ultimate development of the movement, women should go to universities to anything like the extent that men do. There are at Oxford and Cambridge, as everyone knows, a large number of young men who do not go there with any serious intention of learning anything, but because their parents wish them to enjoy the social advantages of the University. For these there are special examinations arranged—those for the ordinary degree—which are, I suppose, intended rather as an assistance to discipline than as a guarantee of intellectual acquirements. And it is held by many that this class of undergraduates not only gain themselves a great deal from the University, but form a valuable element in the society there, even for reading men. However this may be, and it is a question on which I do not venture to pronounce, the conditions of the corresponding class of young women are obviously widely different in many important respects, which it would take too long to enter into here, and it would in my opinion be very undesirable to have them in a college in any large numbers, especially in a university town. What I have seen at Cambridge tends, so far as it goes, to support this view, though we have had too few of such so-called students for me to claim to found it on experience. I hope, however, that I shall not be misunderstood. I have no desire to exclude women with a real interest in study and capacity for intellectual improvement, who for any reason, are unable or unwilling to read for honours. We never have excluded them, and had we done so, we should have excluded some of our best students. I am only anxious that women should not come for the social advantages only, and with no desire for intellectual improvement.

I now wish to consider, frankly and impartially, how far

experience has confirmed the forecast of drawbacks or dangers which caused many thoughtful persons to disapprove of the establishment of the colleges for women at Cambridge. These drawbacks and dangers were in part such as were supposed to attach to any attempt to give women an academic education similar to that of men; in part again they were only held to be involved in the plan of using the educational resources of our existing universities for this purpose. The former class may be again divided into physical and mental, and I will begin with the former, which it seems peculiarly incumbent on us to consider on the present occasion, and in the present place.

And here I wish at the outset to admit, or rather, I wish emphatically to state, as the result of my experience, that the danger of over-work has been felt, and in my opinion, must inevitably be felt (as it is among men), in any college for women students preparing for honour examinations, to such an extent as to require continual watchfulness and care on the part of those responsible for the administration of such institutions. On the other hand, the experience of Girton and Newnham certainly shows that the danger need not be alarming. The actual number of women who even temporarily break down at Cambridge from the effects of work is exceedingly small in proportion to the whole: and as for the average health of the hard working students, it is little to say that it would compare very favourably with that of girls who are laboriously devoting themselves to the pursuit of amusement;—I think it may be asserted that it would compare favourably with the average health of young women generally in the class from which our students are drawn. In fact, overwork is an evil to which attention ought to be continually given, not so much because the danger of it is great, as because it is to a large extent preventable. A delicate woman may, and frequently has, gone through the course of training for an honour examination without any injury to her health, and even with positive gain to it from steady and not excessive work, with power, to a great extent, to choose her own days and hours for it;

but even a strong one is liable to make herself ill unless she will observe the ordinary common-sense rules of health as to sleep, food, exercise, recreation, and other things. And I am afraid experience shows that the required common sense is not so common as I should have myself supposed, among even the most intelligent and highly educated girls. There is, however, among the students at Newnham, a healthy and growing public opinion against overwork, and partly in consequence of this it is more often in her first term than later in her course that trouble is experienced in inducing a student to take reasonable care of herself. I may add, as one advantage of placing the women's colleges at Cambridge and Oxford, that the traditional beliefs and habits of "reading men" at English Universities, by which our students are of course influenced, are on the whole excellent in respect of the importance of sufficient out-door exercise, and the futility, even from a purely examinational point of view, of continuous overwork.

But though reading for examination need, with proper care, be no strain, the examination itself must almost necessarily be one, and especially an examination forming the final point of an educational course, and on which the immediate prospects of employment and salary to some extent depend. But this strain is not sufficiently prolonged to be generally dangerous, and in all ordinary cases the examination week causes merely a temporary fatigue, which rest soon repairs. In one or two cases indeed of delicate students, it has been a matter of doubt on account of health whether the examination should be attempted ; but we have not actually had a single instance of illness which we have had reason to attribute to this particular cause.

It ought to be observed that when students suffer from over-strain, it is often largely due to causes altogether independent of the academic curriculum. Home troubles, or pecuniary anxieties, combined with work, are a serious tax on the strength of any student ; but it must of course depend on the circumstances of the individual case whether

this strain would be increased or diminished by giving up the work.

I have hitherto spoken only of over-work at the University itself, but it is important to mention that in the majority of serious cases of it that have come under my own observation, the mischief has been done before residence at Cambridge began. As I have said, the whole number is actually so small, that it is perhaps not safe to draw any general conclusion from it. But our experience points to serious danger of over-work during a girl's later terms at school, especially if she be clever and eager, very much interested in her work, and preparing a large number of subjects for examination. It also emphatically points to the great risk run in teaching and preparing for examination at the same time, a thing which, notwithstanding brilliant examples of success, should never be attempted except with extreme caution.

I have dwelt on the danger to physical health, because—though, as I have said, it has never assumed alarming proportions,—it is yet one which experience has kept continually before our minds. The other dangers to which I before referred, I shall, for similar reasons, pass over briefly ; since the repeated warnings that we have received of them have so far remained altogether in the state of unfulfilled prognostications. The students that I have known have shown no inclination to adopt masculine sentiments or habits in any unnecessary or unseemly degree ; they are disposed to imitate the methods of life and work of industrious undergraduates just so far as these appear to be means approved by experience to the end which both sets of students have in common ; they are not, so far as I have observed, inclined to go a step further in imitation. And nothing that I have seen of them, either at the University or afterwards, has tended in the smallest degree to support the view that the adaptation of women to domestic life is so artificial and conventional a thing, that a few years of free, unhampered study and varied companionship at the University has a tendency to impair it. Nor, finally, has the supervision of the conduct of our students been rendered

materially more difficult or anxious, by the proximity of the seventeen colleges of undergraduates. I do not wish to draw too confident conclusions from this negative experience ; I do not wish to imply that the forebodings to which I have referred were foolish, or that we ought to dismiss them as altogether unfounded—indeed, as I have already hinted, I should, to some extent, share some of them if students with no interest in study were to become numerous ; —I merely say that in the course of our work we have as yet met with nothing that confirms them.

Time presses, and I can only speak briefly of the effect of the opening of their examinations by the Universities on girls' schools and the subjects taught to girls. It has often been urged, on the one hand, that the University examinations have been arranged to fit in with the course of study pursued in boys' schools, and that there is no reason to suppose they are adapted to girls ; while, on the other hand, it has been tacitly or explicitly maintained that the best way of educating boys is the best way of educating girls also, and that the girls' schools had better be changed in conformity with this view. This question, however, is hardly raised by the opening of the Cambridge honour examinations, on account of the large range of alternatives which they include, and the ample freedom of choice which they leave to the candidates,—a freedom which the women who have prepared for them have very fully exercised, as the following figures will show. Including those who have just completed their course, 36 women have taken honours in the Mathematical Tripos, 44 in the Classical Tripos, 23 in the Moral Sciences Tripos, 30 in the Natural Sciences Tripos, 20 in the Historical Tripos, and 1 in the Theological Tripos. There are also 1 preparing for the Indian Languages Tripos, and 1 about to read for the Law Tripos, and it is certain that the newly-instituted Modern Languages Tripos will not be neglected. It is, therefore, to the preliminary examination that we must look for any material influence exercised by the University on the school curriculum ; and if Cambridge had exacted from women the

“previous examination” (generally known as the “little-go”) imposed by it on undergraduates, involving, as this does, a certain knowledge of Greek and Latin, as well as elementary mathematics, it would, no doubt, have given an impetus to the movement tending to identify the curriculum of first-grade girls’ schools with the older curriculum of boys’ schools. But this result has been avoided by allowing women to substitute for this examination an honour certificate in the Higher Local Examination, which must include (among other subjects, which can be freely selected) some mathematics, and at least one language, ancient or modern, other than English, but need not include any Latin or Greek. In this way Cambridge has, in my opinion wisely, left the question of the introduction of classical studies into girls’ schools to be determined by considerations independent of the academic curriculum, into which, so far as women are concerned, they only enter as one alternative among many. It only prescribes as an indispensable preliminary to regular academic work, the knowledge of one language, and arithmetic, Euclid, and algebra. No one will deny that girls of the class in question should learn at least one language besides their own, and if I may be allowed to express an opinion, I should say that no one ought to doubt that mathematics should also form part of their ordinary education. At any rate, it is safe to say that this view is gaining ground, and that the number of schools where mathematics are not taught is diminishing.

In these remarks I have assumed that the subjects of the preliminary examination will be studied before coming to the University. This is, of course, what is intended, and it is much to be regretted that it is not more universally done. It involves a real loss of time and energy to be obliged to spend part of the limited period allowed at Cambridge for the University course on elementary work that should have been done at school. This preliminary work, too, when done at the University, is apt to be of an extremely unsatisfactory kind, for it is very difficult for a student to study a subject with real interest and profit,

feeling that she must give to it as little time as she possibly can, and taking even that little time from her more advanced work with regret. And the anxiety and worry produced by this state of mind has a distinct tendency to lead to over-work. The evil, however, is, we hope, diminishing. Every year more students come to us well prepared. And we believe it is getting to be more and more generally understood how important it is that they should be so, if they wish to gain the full advantages of a University Education.

ON THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN BRAZIL.

By His Excellency the Baron DE PENEDO,
Brazilian Minister in England.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :—In addressing so distinguished an assembly as the present upon the state of education in a distant land, however remote, I have not the vanity to suppose that I shall be able to add much to the knowledge of the matter which they already possess. But, my lords and gentlemen, if I have not misunderstood the aim and the scope of the proceedings of this Conference, the words which are spoken here are destined to travel beyond the walls of the building in which they are uttered ; and it is in order to gain for the consideration of my subject the solid advantage which it cannot fail to derive from being placed before the world, through you, that I have wished to say a few words concerning it upon this occasion. It is a fact that there are still many persons who, although in many other respects they may be fairly well informed, know little about the vast empire of Brazil, except that it is a very large country in South America.

A country whose territory is equal to one fifteenth of the whole of the land surface of the earth, is doubtless a very

large one ; and when we consider that the immense area of 3,288,000 square miles which it comprises has a population of little more than 12,000,000, we find ourselves at once in presence of one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered by those who have to provide for the education of its inhabitants, since it appears from the figures which I have just quoted that the average population is a fraction under four to the square mile. Under such circumstances, we can only look to the centres of population for such educational institutions as may be classed above the average of the most elementary, for it is clearly impossible that any State, however wealthy, however eager for intellectual advancement it may be, can afford to establish and maintain schools of the higher grades except in places having such a population as can supply an attendance of pupils proportionate to their value. I am not here to overrate or to overstate what has been done, and what is now being done in Brazil in the cause of education ; but having pointed out one of the chief obstacles with which that country has to contend in its endeavour to place the means of education within the reach of its children, this consideration, while giving a fair idea of the difficulties in our path, will at the same time give the measure of whatever merit we may claim for having overcome them. I will therefore proceed to a very brief statement of what has been already accomplished.

Instruction in general, and primary education in particular, have been a constant concern of the powers of the State to whom our Constitution has delegated the care of watching over them. Primary education is gratuitously given to the people throughout the empire, and is recognised by our Constitution as their right as citizens.

In the twenty provinces—some of which are equal in extent to, and in some cases even larger than some of the most important states in Europe—the duty of legislating on primary and secondary education, and on the necessary establishments for their promotion, is incumbent on the Provincial Assemblies ; for each province has its local

legislature and its revenue, in accordance with the State system for the distribution of taxation.

That education in the provinces is not neglected is proved by the fact that some of them spend as much as one-third of their annual revenue on primary education, and that in several of them it is compulsory.

There are also many planters who, on account of the distance at which educational establishments were situated from their plantations, have founded schools for the education of their own families, to which are also admitted gratuitously those of their less wealthy neighbours.

Without detaining the Conference with minute statistics of the number of such schools or of the pupils who attend them, we may fairly take it for granted that their development and efficiency are progressing in a proportion commensurate with the resources at their command.

Of one thing I am in a position to convey to you the full assurance, and it is that the aspiration to contribute to this development is general; and I may even say that a generous emulation exists among the provincial authorities to promote the intellectual progress of their population.

To give an adequate idea of the working of the Brazilian system of education in the provinces of the empire, I may be allowed to take as a model the system of primary and secondary education in its capital.

The Education Department in Brazil is one of the subdivisions of the ministry of the empire; and the supervision of the decrees on education is committed to inspectors. In the capital, the duties of this office are under the care of the Inspector-General of Primary and Secondary Education, to whose reports upon the subject I am indebted for the greater part of the statistics which I shall quote in the course of this paper.

From these reports it appears that Rio de Janeiro, with a population of more than 300,000, has 279 schools, of which ninety-four are public schools entirely supported by the State, twelve are maintained by the Municipal Chamber, seventeen by various societies, and 156 by private persons.

Of the last named, twenty-seven receive Government aid. No primary or grammar school can be opened until the director has submitted to Government the programme of studies, a description of the accommodation and of the situation of the building, together with the names and legal qualifications of the teachers.

During the year 1883 the names of 18,804 children were entered in the school registers of the capital, a number which, in proportion to the population, and when we consider that attendance at school has not yet been made compulsory in the capital of the empire, compares favourably with the returns for London before the passing of the Act of 1870. Admission to the State schools is entirely free, subject to the following conditions :—

1. That the child seeking admission be not under five or over fifteen years of age.
2. That he or she do not suffer from any contagious or offensive disorder.
3. That he or she shall have been vaccinated.

The course of instruction, which is the same in all State schools, and is very generally adopted in all others of the same grade, embraces religious and moral subjects, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic—including the metric system of weights and measures—history, geography, elementary drawing, the rudiments of music, and gymnastics. Girls are also taught needlework. The specimens of this which are exhibited in the Brazilian Section of the International Health Exhibition will speak more forcibly than I can as to the success which has attended the efforts of the ladies who are responsible for this branch of the education of the girls of the country.

Once more quoting the reports to which I have already alluded, I must mention the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, which for the last twenty-eight years has maintained a school for the teaching of the fine arts and for technical education—the School of Arts and Handicrafts—an institution whose object is to promote among the working classes of both sexes the culture of that good

taste and the acquirement of the technical knowledge which are indispensable to the intelligent practice of the industrial and mechanical arts. Here again the classes are free, and are open to all nationalities, most of which are represented in the yearly average of nearly 3000 pupils who avail themselves of the advantages it offers. Fair specimens of the drawings of its pupils may be seen in the City and Guilds Institute, and in the South Central Gallery. Time will not allow me to describe its curriculum beyond the statement that it is of the most liberal and comprehensive character, or to dwell on the good which is done by many more institutions of a kindred nature.

The principal school of secondary instruction in Rio de Janeiro is the college of D. Pedro II. This is the first and one of the most successful educational institutes of the empire. The course of studies is directed by some of the most able professors of various branches of learning, and its examinations not only confer the degree of Bachelor of Letters on those candidates who successfully pass them, but enable these graduates to enter the schools of the learned professions without any further preliminary tests.

No sketch of the educational establishments of Rio de Janeiro, however slight, would be complete without some notice of its Deaf and Dumb Institute, and of the Imperial Institute for Blind Children. The former was founded in January, 1856, by private enterprise, substantially assisted by pecuniary aid from the Emperor; but in 1861 it was recognized by Government as a State establishment. Both boarders and day pupils are educated within its walls. Of the former a large proportion are free scholars. No fee whatever is taken from day pupils. The oral system—by means of which such gratifying results have been obtained in Europe—is being introduced, and will doubtless gradually, whenever it may be possible, supersede dactylology. Besides the usual course of education, such trades are taught as may best enable the pupils to maintain themselves in after life. These are principally bookbinding, shoemaking, and practical farming. In the workshops of the institute

most of the books used in the public offices, and many books for private persons, are bound. The produce of goods made in the institute is sold at prices determined by a tariff. One half of the money received in this manner is paid for the materials used ; the other half is deposited in the savings bank, in whose books each child is credited with the sums proportionate to his work. The buildings of the institute are large, and they are fitted with all necessities for the health and comfort of the inmates. An opinion of the importance of the buildings occupied by this admirable institution, and by others devoted to humanitarian purposes, may be formed from the photographs exhibited in the Brazilian Section of the Health Exhibition.

The Imperial Institute for Blind Children was founded in 1854. The progress made by this philanthropic institution is remarkable.

The opinion expressed by a distinguished member of the present Government in England, that the blind should be so trained as to be able to take as nearly as possible the same part in the work and in the pleasures of the world as the seeing are able to enjoy, is very generally known.

This principle is fully recognised in the working of the Imperial Institute for Blind Children at Rio de Janeiro. The course of training and of education is as general and as varied as it can possibly be. The method of Louis Braille and the appliances of Ricord and of Foucault are adopted ; and the value of the services rendered to the blind by Dr. Armitage is recognised by the use of the apparatus and maps designed by him. In order to extend the range of usefulness of this valuable institution, the Chamber passed a measure in September, 1877, authorising the raising of more than £220,000 to be applied to its endowment.

Besides this, a large building is now in construction for the use of the institute, the cost of which, according to the amended plan, will be £146,248. It is designed to accommodate 800 boarders, and will have thirty workshops, besides studies, class-rooms, dormitories, an office, a library, a museum, special apartments for the manager and other

functionaries, laundries, bath-rooms, &c. I am sorry to dismiss so interesting a subject with so brief a notice. I must not forget to say, however, that the building will be rectangular, with a frontage of 101 and a depth of 88 metres, and that it will have in its centre a large circular chapel surmounted by a cupola.

In conclusion, a few words concerning another valuable institution. In the Imperial Park of the Palace of San Christovam stands a school built by the Emperor of Brazil, entirely supported by him, and in which 100 children of both sexes are educated. It is a primary school as to the course of general instruction, and also a school of handicrafts. It has not been from forgetfulness that I have not alluded to this establishment until the end of my notice of similar institutions. The profound respect which I owe to its august founder imposed on me the duty of observing in the matter a due regard for the well-known absence of ostentation with which our Sovereign gives his unsparing support to all good works for the benefit of his empire. I firmly believe that if His Imperial Majesty were in this place, giving us far more ably than I can do an account of the educational establishments of his country, that is the position which he would assign to it, if indeed—which is very doubtful—he mentioned it at all. But surrounded as we are here by the most substantial evidence of the beneficent influence which the exalted ones of this world can exercise upon any good cause for which they work, and when we consider the advantages attained, not only in this great capital, but far beyond its boundaries, by the institution which owes its origin to a great and good mind which is now resting, we can easily understand how great an impulse has been given to the cause of education in Brazil, as, indeed, to every other good cause, by a sovereign who, not satisfied with being adorned by the high estate in which Providence has placed him, is guided by the highest standard in his appreciation of the privileges of his position.

Military and naval education is given in numerous schools

devoted entirely to the requirements of the two services. Of these the most important are the Naval School, and the Military School (*Escola de Marinha* and *Escola Militar*).

A few words now concerning the means existing in Brazil for the diffusion of superior education. First, we have the Polytechnic School, in which the course of instruction covers the same field as would be required for a high-class degree in the European Universities ; the School of Mines, the Normal School, and the School of Agriculture. In the last named the principles which govern the successful pursuit of this branch of industry are scientifically taught.

There are in Brazil two faculties of medicine—one in the capital, the other in Bahia. The course of studies at both these schools is the same, and extends over six years—the shortest time in which a legal qualification can be obtained. The examination for admission to the schools of the faculties is sufficiently comprehensive to prove that candidates have acquired such a fund of general scholarship as should be possessed by the members of a learned profession. By a recent Government decree these faculties have been so remodelled as to be raised to the level of the most learned faculties of medicine and surgery in the world ; and a vast building is now in course of construction in the city of Rio de Janeiro which will be furnished with all the latest appliances of modern science.

Members of the legal profession are trained by the schools of the faculties of Pernambuco and S. Paulo. The course—embracing, besides the various branches of legal knowledge those of social and moral science—extends over five years, at the expiration of which the degree of Doctor of Laws is conferred on candidates who have passed the necessary periodical and final examinations.

The Academy of Arts of Rio de Janeiro has yearly exhibitions of the painters, sculptors, and engravers of the empire. Under the auspices of the Academy a school exists whose students compete for a scholarship, tenable for six years, the object of which is to enable the successful candidate to travel in Europe to study the works of the great masters.

Evidence is not wanting that this institution has been productive of the most beneficial results.

Education in Brazil is further assisted by museums, learned societies, and libraries, which are to be found, not only in the capital, but in many towns and cities throughout the empire, and to which access is free to all classes of the community.

I trust that this very brief exposition of what Brazil is endeavouring to do in a cause which is so dear to us all, may serve as an additional proof that however far apart any two branches of the great human family may be placed on the face of this earth, the hearts of its members may beat in unison in the pursuit of any good and ennobling work.

Lord REAY said it was a remarkable coincidence that he had to move at the same time a vote of thanks to the distinguished lady who had read the admirable paper which they had just heard, and to the distinguished diplomatist who had given them such valuable information about his own country. Diplomacy had always made use of women, and education had not always made use of them; but if women were to get the education which Mrs. Sidgwick claimed for them, they would be even more formidable and more valuable adjuncts of diplomacy in the future than they had been in the past. With regard to the information given in Baron Penedo's paper, they had to note the freedom of access to the educational institutions in Brazil. His Excellency had told them that all schools, both primary and secondary, were open to all classes of the public. He had also spoken of the existence of provincial legislatures in Brazil. In that respect Brazil could evidently teach us something, and seemed to be in advance of ourselves. No more weighty paper could be contributed than that read by Mrs. Sidgwick, who had shown herself so devoted to the higher education of women. In proposing a vote of thanks to the Brazilian nobleman who had addressed them,

he might remark that it was a novel precedent that they should have heard a diplomatic document of that kind at a Conference of this description. He hoped it would be a fortunate omen for other conferences which did not always result in making international relations more cordial. As coming from the representative of so distinguished a Sovereign as the Emperor of Brazil, they would be sure to value it all the more. He had much pleasure in moving a cordial vote of thanks to his Excellency and to Mrs. Sidgwick.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN FRANCE.

By T. J. EAST,

Inspecteur d'Académie, Périgueux.

IN the country of Fenelon, Madame de Maintenon, and Rousseau, it is not astonishing that the question of the education of women should be eagerly, even passionately, discussed; it has been, it is, and it will continue to be so till the time comes when no such discussion will be possible, because no one will deny that woman has the same right as man to every advantage that private or State education can give.

In speaking of the university education of women it is not possible to compare France with England or America. We have not, I hardly know whether we shall ever have, large girls' colleges like those of Newnham and Girton, or the Wellesley College, in which young women have the real college life which *mutatis mutandis* young men live in their colleges in the old English universities.

I will simply state what such education is at present with us, what efforts and what means we are using to develop it, and what likelihood there seems to be of women

profiting by the opportunities held out to them by the modern spirit of equality, justice, and fair play.

What, then, is the actual present state of women's university education in France? It most certainly can only be said to begin. Women in small numbers attend the public lectures given by professors in the great University centres, in Paris at the Sorbonne, at the Collège de France, and at the Faculties of Law and Medicine. Some few have taken their degrees in letters and sciences, and some even have become doctors and physicians. The reason of the small number profiting by university education to take out the diplomas required for entering the liberal professions, is simply that there was till very lately no nursery from which to draw the recruits, for till within the last few years no secondary instruction for girls can be said to have existed in France. M. Duruy, a Minister of liberal views and great heart, took the first step in this direction by organising public lectures for girls in connection with most of the lyceums and colleges in the country. He was a dear lover of fair play; he insisted on the necessity of teaching girls what their brothers were taught, and he made an appeal to the voluntary zeal and devotion of the professors of the University. His call was responded to; a series of lectures on the various branches of literature and science taught in our public schools grouped round the professor's chair audiences of girls and grown up women. The programmes were not official, the choice of subjects being left to individual judgment. Much good was thus done, but more remained to do, and, as years passed on, the necessity for more vigorous action became apparent, it was felt that if in future the country would enjoy domestic and civil peace, it was necessary that the men and women of the future should be educated in the same spirit, and with the same aspirations. For our institutions had changed, and though this change had been made by the great majority of our countrymen, the great majority of the girls of the upper and middle classes were still, from want of other means, educated in establishments

directed by those to whom this change was abhorrent ; and it was clear that to secure future unity of thought and interest, the sister should not be brought up to consider as bad what the brother was taught to consider as good ; that wives and mothers should be able and willing to help in the education of citizens ; that every woman who desired it should have her diploma, the same possibility as men of acquiring material and moral independence.

The opposition to this idea was strong, and even bitter ; it is so still. But it has been and will still be met with a calm resolution to vanquish every obstacle, and to live down misrepresentation and calumny.

In 1880 a law, proposed by M. Camille See, founded secondary instruction for girls in France. The State offered generous grants to municipalities willing to aid in the work, and in many of our large towns, Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons, Rouen, Montpellier, and others, lyceums have been opened in which secondary instruction is given to girls by properly graded professors, of whom the greater number are, of course, in this early stage, those of the boys' lyceums. Later we hope to see the lady professors, trained in the High Normal school of Sèvres, take their proper place at the head and on the staff of their girls' lyceums. The programme was, and still is, the work of anxious thought. It was not copied from that of the boys'. It did not spring suddenly in all its perfection from one brain. The Ministry, inspired by true democratic principles, appealed to the whole teaching body of men and women in the country ; no opinion on this momentous question was unlistened to, and from the elements thus collected the High University Council formed the present programme, which

“ Pardon me, I do not mean to read,”

time forbids. I will merely state that it embraces a period of five years. As mothers will naturally prefer keeping girls at home during their earlier years, the pupils are not admitted into these schools under the age of twelve. The entrance examination is severe, and supposes a thorough

elementary preparation. The three first years, from twelve to fifteen, are devoted to the study of French language and literature, national and general history, geography, arithmetic and elementary geometry, living languages, natural history (botany and zoology), occupying fifteen hours a week ; drawing, writing, and music, five hours ; needlework and gymnastics, four hours and a half.

At the end of the third year, when, it is to be expected, many girls will be withdrawn, a " *Certificat d'études de 3^e année* " will be delivered to those who pass a successful examination, and who may then either leave with the advantage of a really sound average education, or pass on into the higher division, and in two years more complete the five years' cycle which will give them the "*Diplôme de fin d'études secondaires*." This diploma will allow those who desire it to begin the higher university career, and follow the public lectures given to prepare students for the liberal professions, and for entrance at the High Training School for professors at Sèvres, on the organisation of which my eminent colleague, M. Darmesteter, will give you the most interesting details. The subjects studied during the fourth and fifth years are obligatory and optional. The principal obligatory studies, occupying twelve hours a week, are: moral philosophy, 1 hour; French language and literature, and ancient literature, 4 hours; living languages and literature, 3 hours; general history of civilisation down to Charlemagne, 2 hours; notions of astronomy and cosmography, 1 hour; animal and vegetable physiology, 1 hour; physics, 1 hour—in all, 13 hours; gymnastics and needlework, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Optional studies, either for Series A (ancient literature and elements of Latin), 4 hours; or for Series B (mathematics), 3 hours; music, 1 hour; drawing, 3 hours.

Bodily exercise, whether as amusement or properly directed gymnastics, holds an important place in the division of time; all overwork, all unhealthy strain of the intellect, is sedulously avoided, the object of the whole scheme being to give to our country women able to take

their proper place in the direction and education of children, whether their own or others.

To speak of the results of our recent efforts to give women their fair share in the higher work of life would be premature. The oldest of our new secondary girls' lyceums can scarcely count eighteen months' existence; but we trust to the future; we are confident that in these new institutions the women of France will find the elements of a larger and more fruitful participation in university education—education in its best and widest sense. Such a result will be the just reward of the many eminent men who are devoting their lives with untiring energy to the good work, and amongst whom it would be sheer ingratitude not to give especial mention to Mons. Gréard, Vice-Rector of the Academy of Paris.

As for the question how far women are capable of profiting by university education, my own experience of twenty-three years' tuition, and the experience of many eminent colleagues, is that in most branches women are equal, in some superior to men. Their rapid progress in philosophical and mathematical studies is remarkable. As Professor of English and, latterly, member of the Examination Board for conferring the Living-Language Certificate for teaching in lyceums and colleges, I can state that, since ladies have been admitted to compete at the same examination with men, they have always taken high rank in the list of successful candidates.*

It is pleasing to see the barriers of unjust prejudice thus cast aside and the lists thrown open. I shall not soon forget an evening reception of the members of the University three years ago by our excellent Minister, M. Jules Ferry, when the usher who introduced the various groups announced for the first time, "Mesdames les Professeurs de Sèvres." Last year, too, I had the pleasure of congratulating a lady friend on her successful competition for

* This year the first on the Fellowship list was a lady, and on the Certificate list the first eight were ladies.

a living-language fellowship, and I may say of her that she was a "thorough good fellow."

To conclude, university education for women exists with us, though at present, so to speak, in its infancy. The recent innovations are, in my opinion, calculated to strengthen and develop it, into what precise form the future alone can tell; we are advancing with as much circumspection as resolution. As to the question, how far women are gifted to compete for its honours and advantages, either in a public or private capacity, no doubt is possible—in France, as in other countries, the results are undeniable.

DISCUSSION.

Miss FREEMAN (President of Wellesley College, Massachusetts) said that in America women were studying in all the schools, large and small, and in the State universities, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Since Oberon College was first organised in Massachusetts fifty years ago, by Mary Lyon, the numbers had been constantly increasing of those girls and women, in all classes and conditions, who had prepared themselves for a working life in the schools and colleges. The girls did not all intend to fit themselves for professional life, though a number of them went into the medical profession and schools, but went there to better fit themselves for their duties as women in after-life, for the most solemn place of duty in which a woman could stand was in her own home, or in teaching in a school. Still, the number of women studying was much smaller than the number of men, for of 1600 students in the larger universities, only 180 were women; but in Oberon College, of the 1400 students in the class-rooms and colleges, more than 700 were women. There were three large colleges established in the Eastern States for women alone, Vassar, which was twenty years old, and Wellesley and Smith,

each about nine years old. In those three colleges more than 1000 women were studying last year, and there were many thousands studying in other colleges, where men were also at work. If she might be permitted to draw a parallel between the numbers of men and women teaching, in the colleges of Massachusetts, with a faculty of over seventy women, there were only ten men conducting the education. When mothers and fathers asked her, as they frequently did, whether they should send their daughters to colleges, she always considered it better to examine the girls themselves before giving an answer; and, on the whole, she would not advise parents to send a bright, undisciplined, and untrained girl of sixteen away from home for the first time in her life to one of the great universities; but if they went into one of the girls' colleges and graduated from twenty to twenty-three, as they mostly did, if they then desired to take the courses of instruction for graduates, or if students who wished to prepare for college-tuition desired to enter upon the graduated courses, from all the results that had been gained during the last twenty-five years, the women who had been in the work and had studied it most carefully were always very glad to advise them to go. The figures in connexion with Wellesley College might be taken as fairly representative of all the colleges for women; and the women who entered them, on the average, did not go into college until they were nearly nineteen. They professed to receive students who were sufficiently prepared, in all the colleges, at sixteen; but the young ladies did not, on the whole, enter until the age of eighteen years and nine months, taking the average in the five large colleges, and they came from all classes, rich and poor. The daughters of wealthy men were there side by side with the daughters of men of the poorer classes; and those girls, from the age of sixteen, with all life before them, sat side by side with white-haired women who had been teachers all their lives. In Wellesley College there were seventy or eighty women who had been teachers for many years, and who wished to fit themselves to do better

work for their country. The secondary education was the weakest place in their whole system. Women, who were teaching by hundreds and thousands in the school-rooms of America, left them to go up to the colleges for higher education. The dangers which Mrs. Sidgwick had alluded to they had recognised from the beginning, but their experience entirely agreed with her statement that they were not alarming. Women were not admitted into Wellesley College unless they came armed with a medical certificate that they were free from all chronic or organic disease, and had been found upon examination fully capable of undergoing college work. In all the colleges for women gymnasiums were kept, in which they were thoroughly trained in healthy exercises, and resident physicians were constantly in attendance, salaried by the Colleges to keep the students well ; the students, whenever they were unwell, went to them free of charge ; they were appointed, in fact, to keep the students well, and they lost their appointments if they did not do so. The result was that, though they had two hospitals, they were usually empty, and for months together they had had no cases of illness, though they had 500 women in their College hall. But, in order to do this, they did not simply trust to the employment of doctors and gymnasium apparatus. They required that girls should, in the first instance, be well fitted to come in. Girls were not allowed to come into Wellesley who had merely read up hastily for five or six months ; and while reading up in the various studies, they would have to remain out in the open air for at least an hour every day, and the necessity of their availing themselves of the opportunities for boating and lawn tennis was much insisted on. At night they retired at ten o'clock, and they were not only prevented from fatiguing or injuring themselves by late study, but they were not allowed to commence study before seven in the morning. They were also required to take their food only at regular meal-times, and were not allowed to go without their regular meals. Students were not permitted to work for honours ; but even with that regulation their enthusiasm

was found to be so great, that it had been found necessary to limit the number of lectures in the various classes, seventeen being the maximum and ten the minimum allowed. Those hastily-stated facts from experience in America might be found interesting in connection with our new experiment; and their results in that country had been so manifestly good, that they would go on, greatly trusting that in educating women's heads they would not hurt their hearts or ruin their constitutions.

Mr. BRUCE, M.P., before referring to Girton College and the other matters dealt with by the paper, would make a few remarks about the provision for the higher education of women in America, being possibly the only Englishman present who had had the opportunity of seeing some of the American colleges to which Miss Freeman had referred. Two systems prevailed there, the system of separate education for women in colleges such as Wellesley, Vassar, and Smith, which were all in the Eastern States, and the system of joint education in the State Universities, which were open to women and men alike, a system which prevailed very largely throughout the Western States of the Union, from Ohio to the Pacific. It was an accepted theory in the new States that women were entitled to the same educational advantages—as a provision for enabling them to take their own part in life—as men were. There was much to be said in favour of both those systems, but he would like to add his own respectful assent to the views he understood to have been expressed by Miss Freeman, that, on the whole, where it was possible to have adequate provision for teaching in a college for women only, it was rather better to arrange the thing in that way than to have the State University system, where men and women were taught together. He of course did not mean to say that in the Western States, where it was difficult to get competent teachers, and where institutions of the highest kind could not easily be formed to provide for the education of women alone, there was not much to be said in favour of having men and women sitting side by side in the class-rooms; but he

believed more benefit could be given to the women students when taught in their own colleges, and that the whole arrangements for their education would in that case work more smoothly. He thought that, under present conditions, in England more good would be done by following the plan which had been adopted in the Eastern States, and founding colleges for women alone, but at the same time founding them in places where it would be easy to get the services of the best professors, which were as necessary in the education of women as of men. With regard to the possibility of preventing overwork by dispensing with the stimulus of honours and prizes, nothing had struck him so much in Wellesley and Vassar Colleges than the extraordinary ardour and enthusiasm of the students. The difficulty was to hold them back, and prevent them from over-exciting and over-working themselves in the zeal with which they pursued their studies. Far from requiring that stimulus which was supposed to be indispensable to men in our universities for the purpose of overcoming the listlessness and apathy of ordinary undergraduates, American girl-students seemed to be more than sufficiently inspired by the love of knowledge for its own sake. With regard to our English colleges, as far as he was entitled to speak on behalf of Girton College, having been since its foundation a member of the Executive Committee, the experience of that Committee had been precisely what Mrs. Sidgwick had stated. He did not think that any difficulties had arisen there as regarded discipline, nor from the proximity of Girton to Cambridge, the distance being two miles from the College to the town. Neither had any serious troubles arisen from overwork, though, no doubt, there had been occasional instances where a girl's health had suffered when preparing for examination. But those cases had been few, and it might fairly be said that there had been no more illness than they might expect to find among the same number of girls pursuing their education either at home or in our best-conducted schools ; serious studies were not so frequent a

source of ill-health as were the usual causes of ill-health among girls who were not studying at all but were accustomed to keep late hours, and in other ways to exhaust their strength in the career of what was called fashionable life. He could add his emphatic testimony to what Mrs. Sidgwick had said about examinations, and while believing that too great prominence was now allowed to them in the education of young men, he was disposed to think that these were both more dangerous and less useful in the colleges for women, just because the students in those colleges were more readily and more heartily interested in the subjects which they studied. He believed it was chiefly because that danger had been kept so constantly in view, both at Girton and at Newnham, that they had suffered so little. The experience of the two women's colleges lately founded at Oxford, though on a smaller scale than those at Cambridge which Mrs. Sidgwick had described, was to exactly the same effect. Those who recognised the great importance of the question raised by the papers would feel that much had still to be done in England, for the provision made at Girton and Newnham for the education of women was certainly inadequate for the needs of this country. Excellently as they had done their work, it had evidently become necessary that either they should be still further extended, or that other colleges like them should be founded.

Dr. STRACHAN, of Dollar, said they were all agreed upon the great advantages which must accrue from the higher education of women. It would be greatly to the benefit of all women that their education should be carried on beyond that which was given in the schools, and all must hail with great satisfaction the prospect of getting education for them in the Universities. As a medical man he could not quite concur in what had been said as to the danger which existed from over-anxiety in study, of which he had himself seen a good deal in connection with higher education. At the same time he did not look upon that danger as a necessary condition of higher education at all.

It arose greatly from introducing false motives into the work, as from working for prizes, or honours, or anything else than an interest in the work which was being done. As to the practical bearing of the higher education of women, it ought, like all education, to have a practical bearing on the affairs of life. Very few men went in for higher education except with the object of so applying it, and that object ought to be also kept in view in the higher education of women. In that connection it was of great consequence to consider what kind of work the greatest number of women would have to do in the world which was before them. There was one work which practically all women had to do, and which every woman in the country might be properly prepared for with great advantage to herself and to the nation, and that was the care and management of the young. That was work which was left entirely to women because, of course, men could not take it up, having their own occupations to employ them, and it was a work which ought, therefore, to be prepared for in the most effectual way by the higher education of women. A great deal of mischief resulted from a want of proper knowledge in dealing with the young, and he might, as a medical man, say that much of the illness which was found among the young arose from want of proper knowledge on the part of parents, or those who had to do with children, as to how they were to be managed ; and he could not see that, as long as this work was neglected, there was any great need for ladies carrying their education into other fields and professions, because that was a work which every woman might prepare for with the greatest advantage and honour to herself. Looking at the question from the point of view that all women in the country ought to be prepared for that work, the universities might well take up the subject, and, not only admit women within their walls, but arrange for chairs and lectureships in connection with women's work. Such work he looked upon as well worthy the attention of any woman, and it would rank, if properly taught, with any

profession in the country. It would embrace the knowledge of many sciences, such as physiology and chemistry, moral philosophy, and many other subjects, which must all be included in what might well be called women's professional work. Some means should be taken to arrange for the proper teaching of the work which was before all the women in the country.

Professor A. DARMESTETER addressed the meeting in the French language. He added a few observations to the paper read by Professor East on the condition of the colleges for girls in France, completing what he had said the day before in Section D about the superior normal schools for girls, and more particularly on the special character of the newly instituted examinations for *certificats d'aptitude et d'agrégation*. Those who had been entrusted with the task of preparing the programme of studies for the students in the girls' training schools and *lycées* had mainly in view not only to train educated teachers endowed with deep knowledge, or to secure to students the advantages of sound education, but also, and before everything, to develop intelligence more than memory, and common-sense and reflection more than a taste for curious research. Their chief aim had been to develop in young girls that sound judgment so necessary to wives and mothers in the numerous and ever-recurring difficulties arising in the management of a household and the education of children; for the great aim of young girls' education was to form them to become mothers of families, who would know how to bring up their children, so that they might one day be an honour to their parents and, if possible, to their country.

Professor KIRKLAND, of Toronto, said that a system of education such as that advocated by some of the preceding speakers had long existed in the province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada. The province was divided up into school districts, presided over by trustees elected by the people, and in each county there was established one or more high schools in which students were prepared for

the universities. In all these schools young men and women sat side by side, and received the same instruction. For nearly forty years that system had been in operation, and no inconvenience or ill results had arisen from it. In carrying this system into the universities difficulties had arisen, mainly from the prejudices of the eminent gentlemen who presided over them, brought from Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, and with the learning and culture of these institutions brought also their prejudices, to which they clung with great tenacity ; and by no means would they admit women within the sacred precincts of their institutions. However, some time ago, Victoria College, Coubourg, admitted young ladies, and it was found that no ill results followed. Queen's College, Kingston, lately admitted ladies, and in this case also there were no injurious effects, unless to the young men, who no longer carried off all the prizes. The young ladies competed most successfully with them, and at one of the recent examinations a young lady obtained a gold medal. University College, Toronto, a provincial college, did not follow the good example of her sisters, but still refused to admit ladies to her classes. The provincial university had some time ago admitted them to all its privileges. The aid of the Legislature had been invoked, and no doubt women would soon have all the advantages which the provincial college could afford. In the normal schools of the province young men and women had always been taught side by side in the same class-room, and with the best results. If men and women could mingle in the social circle and in the ball-room, why could not they sit side by side in the same class-room. At the same time, he could sympathise with those who still held the prejudices appertaining to old institutions, and where a country was sufficiently wealthy to provide two sets of colleges equally well equipped, it might do so, perhaps, with advantage. He would emphasise the condition that they should be equally well equipped, because some ladies' colleges were no better than poor high schools ; but where

a country was wealthy enough to provide thoroughly equipped colleges for women, and to provide professors for them equally qualified and able with the professors who lectured for young men, he did not see why they should not enjoy that luxury. But where a country was not sufficiently wealthy to do that, prejudice should not be allowed to stand in the way of women getting the education to which they had the same right as men. They should be admitted to the same lectures, and should in educational matters be treated in precisely the same manner as men. As a matter of fact, it was not expected that a very large number of women would attend the universities, nor indeed was it probable that a large number of young men would do so for culture alone, if they were not intending to go into the learned professions, but, whether their numbers were great or small, they should have the privilege of attending any State endowed college, unless one equally good was provided for them.

Mrs. RICHARDS, of Boston, thought that in such a conference as this too much prominence could not be given to health in connection with such a subject. With regard to the position of this question in America, there were a considerable number of ladies who had received the degree of B.A. from institutions of good standing, such as Cornell University or Vassar College. The young women graduates of fourteen or fifteen colleges united two years ago in forming an association. It was thought that women who had had four years' residence in a college, and had received degrees, might advantageously unite together in an association for mutual benefit, though the men thought it could not be done. It was something unheard of. However, they had been able to carry it on with the utmost harmony, and so far it had been a very great success. The first thing which that association took up as bearing most directly on the education of women, was the subject of physical education; they accordingly issued a circular, which was sent out to all the colleges belonging to the association, pointing out the deficiencies in

physical training ; the result had been the establishment of gymnasiums in three of the colleges. Upon the results thus obtained, and upon the suggestions of a medical journal, they decided to collect statistics of the health of women who had been educated in the colleges. Physicians were always telling them that their illnesses were due to the course of study at the colleges, and they resolved to collect a few statistics which would show whether that was the case. At her own college, Vassar, there had been more cause for remark than there should have been, but they knew that in most cases where women had broken down the causes were not due to the course of college study, but to something else. However, they felt that their own knowledge on the point was not sufficient, and that in this scientific age they must produce the proofs, and therefore they set to work to collect statistics. They had on their list a year ago as members of their association 1400 women, who had studied and graduated at first-class institutions, and who had passed out of them from five to fifteen years before, or, in a few cases, going back still further. They had had the advice of medical men with regard to the information to be elicited, and had drawn out a very formidable looking circular, which had been sent out to those women who were now in all walks of life. Some had become mothers of families, some had remained teachers in the schools, some had taken up the work of missionaries. It was very interesting to look over the list and see how widely those women were occupied and scattered over the world. It was to be regretted that the results were not as yet complete, but answers had been received to about half the circulars, and the results so far had been very much better than had been expected. The physicians had acknowledged that they were surprised at the comparatively good health of the educated women of America as shown by those statistics. The chief question, of course, was whether the period of college study was the time when injury to the health, if any, was done. When a young woman who had entered college at eighteen or nineteen

broke down, either during or after her college life, it was usually from some hereditary cause or from over-work in the secondary schools. That was the danger which had been so well pointed out by the previous speakers, and great efforts therefore should be made to look after the health of girls in the secondary schools. Experience had shown that if a girl was well cared for from twelve to eighteen, then went to college from eighteen to twenty-two, during that period there would be no trouble whatever. She hoped that those who had the control of education in this country would look closely into that matter. It was, of course, very difficult to keep acquainted with those who had left college, but if some kind of record could be kept of their subsequent health, that would be the best answer which could be given as to the danger of the physical effect of education upon girls.

Miss ADA S. BALLIN, of University College, London, said as Girton and Newnham had been spoken of, it would be unfair that University College should not have some attention. The University of London had been the first to open its doors to women, and women had passed in all its branches of study. Simultaneously at University College they had been admitted to the teaching in arts and sciences, but strong objections had been made to opening the medical branches to women, and a separate college for them had been opened in Henrietta Street, and was now in working order, for training them in medical knowledge. Men and women in University College were educated in exactly the same way. All the classes were open ; one could, moreover, choose any class and enter it without of necessity of having any idea of going in for the examinations, and one could lay out one's own prospectus of work. Although the professors would like to be the guides in those matters, they did not absolutely lay down rules for the students, who were allowed to use their own judgment. One of the speakers had said that it would be worth while perhaps to have as an experiment in England a college in which ladies and gentlemen should be educated together, and it really seemed as if many people were not

aware that that condition of things existed in University College. They had not there experienced the slightest inconvenience from the intercourse of men and women, who mixed together freely and were certainly not kept apart like caged beasts, according to a system praised by a former speaker, or forbidden to speak to each other ; but they were together in all class-matters. So much had that been found an advantage, that the professors had within the last few months founded a society under the name of The University College Society, which aimed at the promotion of fellowship among the students. To that Society both ladies and gentlemen were admitted, and it was proposed that there should be concerts, and even dances by way of amusement for the members, of course under the supervision of the professors. The success which had attended what had been done at University College should be made more widely known, as students did not there attend in sufficient numbers. There were now about 700 students, of whom about 300 were ladies and 400 gentlemen ; but the College was capable of holding two or three thousand students, and the class-rooms could accommodate very many more than attended there. If the present conditions of teaching in University College were made more widely known, a larger number of students ought to flock to it, because it had the advantage of possessing some of the best professors in the world, and she was surprised, as Lord Reay was their Vice-President, that no allusion had been made to it in his address.

Mr. HERBERT MILLER, of Yale College, thought that the ladies from America who had addressed the meeting had in themselves presented the best justification for the carrying out of the object they were all aiming at. The public at large were interested in this question of the general higher education of women, for it affected the whole nation. When England's eldest daughter set up house-keeping for herself, now more than a hundred years ago, and somewhat against the will of her mother, she very soon began to try a good many social experiments, on the

principle possibly of proving all things, and certainly the Americans had proved a great many things in all directions. It had been their wise intention from the beginning that their daughters should have the same advantages in education as their sons ; so that from the commencement boys and girls in primary education had been instructed up to the same level and standard, but the secondary education had not been carried out so thoroughly as that of boys until within the last twenty or twenty-five years, when it began to be supposed that secondary education would be for their benefit, and only within that time had it been placed in the power of young women to attend at the universities. They had heard something about the numbers who had been so educated, and he would say a few words as to how this question affected the community at large. Of course, the callings which women were able to exercise after leaving the universities were much more limited than those which were open for men to follow, though in America greater liberty was given to women than elsewhere of entering upon almost any calling that they desired. Women were to be found among the lawyers, and some of them were practising with credit, and a much larger number had entered the medical profession. They were welcomed as doctors, particularly by their own sex, whom they could especially benefit, and it was with the general approval of the thoughtful and intelligent part of the community that the number of lady physicians was yearly growing larger. Women, too, in America, where all things were dared, had even entered the clerical profession, and were at work as moral and religious instructors and in the pulpits, but in that case not, he thought, with the approval of the great majority of thoughtful and intelligent people. It was well that they should have the experience of so many representatives from different parts of the world, who were able to furnish it, as well as opinions of all kinds at such a conference, that from the chaff a large amount of grain might be selected, whereof better bread might be made for the food of future generations. He thought it would be the general con-

clusion of all who had listened to what had been said that there need be no further fear with regard to the recognition of the benefit higher education for women would be. He would put it to every man in the room whether he would not rather have for a wife and companion for himself and for the mother of his children a well-educated than an ill-educated woman? To that *argumentum ad hominem* he did not think there would be a dissentient voice. If they had no doubt on that point, neither would there be a doubt with regard to it in other countries, where the same arguments had been brought to bear, and where the experiences to which they had listened might be made known. University education would do no harm to women if it were wisely applied ; both men and women had a natural and an improving capacity for acquiring knowledge, and though, with regard to other comforts and luxuries, they could not go beyond a certain point without a feeling of satiety, the more knowledge they acquired the more they wanted. As the infinity of knowledge flowed in upon man so his appetite for it grew the greater, and his capacity for acquiring it grew with its acquisition, a fact which seems to show his true relationship with the great, infinite, master mind. Education was progressing among both men and women, and, he would ask, was not the world ready for a stronger race of men, who should know their high place which centuries of struggles had revealed to them?

Dr. HOHLFELD said he had been a teacher of the German language for many years in France, Belgium, and England. While teaching in the small Belgian town of Fleurus, not far from Waterloo, at a school which was something between a national elementary school and a higher school, he found that in that town of about 3000 inhabitants the desire of the women to get a superior education was great. Not much information could be got at the school for girls, which was under the direction of nuns, and some of the ladies in the town wanted the teachers of his school to give a course of lectures for the instruction of women. Over and over again the question was raised, but it always fell to the

ground from the opposition of the Clerical party, who opposed the Liberals, and would not consent to it. He had mentioned that fact as an instance of the desire of women for a superior education. Women ought to be given a superior education, and they ought to be specially instructed in their duties, which in another sphere they would one day have to perform. In Dresden there were classes for giving young girls domestic instruction, and a second class for their instruction as superior nursemaids, and he could speak from experience of what had been done in those establishments. In them the young women were specially instructed with regard to the training of the young: how to manage babies, wash, feed, and keep them clean. Those in the second establishment, for training superior nursemaids, besides being trained in the same way, were taught to wash, iron, and sew, and domestic duties, and other knowledge which would one day be of the highest importance to them should they get married. Experience had shown that when a young lady went to other towns from those establishments in Dresden, she soon got married, because the men found that those girls had been well instructed in all the branches of knowledge which they ought to know when they became wives and mothers.

Professor BONET MAURY, who spoke in French, after recalling the services rendered by M. Egger and M. Gréard to the cause of higher education for girls in France showed, by a few examples, the advantages of the education given to women in the same Faculties as men, and added that, in his opinion, women must be educated not exclusively with a view to their domestic or social mission, but in such a manner as to enable them to live in independence and to realize the divine ideal with which they have been endowed by the Creator.

Mr. HERFORD, of Manchester, said a very strong and plain protest should be made against the assumption made unfortunately by the most distinguished members of the medical profession, that women ought not to attend lec-

tures or be taught professionally and scientifically to do that work which it had been given them to do by God, but that they should be left to their own natures without any assistance in the shape of superior education. Such an idea as that education could do them any harm, was simply absurd. Higher education would make them better wives and mothers, and it was therefore for men to advocate it in their own interests as well as for the best interests of women themselves. This special instruction of women in the art of becoming good wives and mothers should be referred, not to any Commission on University Education merely, but to a Commission on Technical Education. It had been urged with bated breath and whispering humbleness that women should be admitted to university honours. It was said that there were persons abroad as well as in our own country who were unable to pursue the path of knowledge without some selfish motives, from inducements of that kind being placed before them. It was time that some one should answer those statements as they were answered by the fact, that throughout all the organization of education in Germany there was a total absence of honours and prizes altogether : they did not exist, not even scholarships. In one sense, indeed, they might be a great deal better off if they possessed some scholarships, for a large number of the German students spent their early life in a state of penury and privation, working and learning on the very scantiest possible means, in a way which was scarcely known in England at all. But higher rewards, or anything of the kind, to urge them on or stimulate them in the pursuit of knowledge, were things which did not exist. No doubt if there were prizes to be got in Germany, golden fellowships to be won, the students would go in for them, but a merciful Providence had saved them from the temptation. But whatever might be said about scholarships, if all the endowments whatsoever belonging to all our universities could be pitched into the Atlantic Ocean it would be infinitely better for us all, and the real progress of knowledge and learning in England might begin. Something had been

said about colleges in which men and women should sit side by side and listen to the same lectures, but Englishmen, acquainted with English prejudices, could well understand the tender feeling for those institutions to which people had always been accustomed, though it was harder to comprehend the incapacity to see what had been done in other countries ; but those things, though they might be adopted with advantage to ourselves, never seemed to enter our minds. That system of mixed education, of which they had heard so much that was favourable in America and Canada, which after all was nothing new, but was as old as the time of John Knox, was something which English people could not imagine should be brought about in England. In many ways we had shown ourselves to be a nation of humourists ; but that in this particular direction we should be as impervious as we appeared to be to the most obvious touches of the simplest kind of humour, seemed very remarkable indeed.

General EATON, Commissioner for America, had hoped when he entered the meeting that he might be allowed to be passed over in silence. It was not only his duty as Commissioner to gather all the information he could from American teachers, but it was consonant with the spirit of America to watch the movements taking place in every educational question throughout the world, and to gather the benefit of them for America. They not only followed the movements in England as their mother country, but they desired to get information about all the school systems in the world. In watching the progress of the discussion he had felt how true was the apt remark of a German officer of State, that "What you would have in the nation, that you must put in the schools ;" and to-day the whole civilised world was acting upon that principle. What the nations of the world expected to be, whether intelligent, virtuous, or religious, they must ensure it by the teaching in the schools, and this Conference would immensely help the movement in that direction throughout the world. This subject of women's superior education had attracted the greatest

attention in America, and he rejoiced that they should have had presented such specimens of results of what had been done in that direction, both in England and America, by Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Freeman. Miss Freeman had received her higher education in the University of Michigan, where she went in and out with the young men for four years in all the classes of that institution, and America might well present her as a good result of the system. But these questions were not all settled yet in America. That a woman should receive the same intellectual training, if she desired it, and had prepared for it as a man, and that she would use it as well as a man would use it, they were agreed ; but whether she should be educated in the same institution they were not all agreed. That was one of the crucial questions agitated in the great convention of 6000 school teachers at Wisconsin, which he had lately attended. Again and again, when he had been called upon to express his opinion upon it, he had said he would express no opinion, as it was a matter which was working itself out in its own way, beautifully, delightfully, and the agitation would have the best results. A great variety of conditions existed which would help them ; for instance, any bodies of Christians might associate themselves to have either separate or co-education ; in addition to that there were the State institutions in the East, and, as they had been informed by Miss Freeman, the Western institutions had appointed women as doctors, and their degrees were open alike to men and women in medicine, in law, in dentistry, and so forth. That gave them a great advantage ; but there were other favourable conditions. In any condition of life regard must be had to the preparation for it ; and what was the nature of the secondary instruction given in preparing women for this superior instruction ? Over and over again it had been found in the States that there were more girls of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen in institutes for secondary instruction than boys, because the boys were called away earlier to earn their bread and the girls could go to school longer ; so that when the institutions for

superior education began to open their courses to women, in Greek, Latin, and mathematics, for instance, the only change seen was that in those academies, as they were called, they added Greek, Latin, and mathematics, and prepared the girls in them. So began the institutions for the preparation of girls in superior instruction. Having got that large platform as a stepping-stone for the next step, it would be easy to take it if it was thought desirable, and so they were moving on. Then when they came out of that institution what was to be done? As far as he was acquainted with public opinion in America, a man would not decline to love and marry a woman because she had been instructed in a superior institution; he had never known an instance of that kind, and if he were questioned about it he would most probably answer that he would not decline to do so himself. If that question were once settled, which so many speakers had been so anxious about, what were the others? The others appertained to the special vocations. In the first instance, all the business of instruction was as open to women as it was to men. So that in that direction there was a great vocation open to a woman demanding her special education; and when they got that, they had shown their ability to become eminent teachers in our colleges, high schools, normal schools, and even in examining institutions throughout the country.

The CHAIRMAN (Archdeacon Emery) was, with regret obliged to announce that the Conference was nearly finished and that it only remained to ask whether Mrs. Sidgwick, upon whose paper the discussion alone turned, wished to make any remarks in reply.

Mrs. SIDGWICK, having thanked the meeting for their attention,

The Rev. Dr. DAWES proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he really felt in a position of penitence, for, as he had confessed to them, he had not been in days past in favour of the university education of women, and he believed he was going to be punished for it

by having a daughter now about to enter the university. This great anxiety to promote the highest education for both men and women would forward not only the intellectual and physical improvement of the race, but its moral and religious improvement ; because, after all, there was something higher and nobler than merely learning the elements of knowledge in this world, or even the better understanding of the grand works of nature and of God, there was something nobler still, and that was for education in its highest sense to prepare us for the beatific vision of God himself.

He then formally declared the Conference in Section C closed.

APPENDIX.

ON THE PARIS FREE SCHOOL OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE.**(École libre des Sciences Politiques de Paris.)*By ÉMILE BOUTMY,
de l'Institut de France.

THE School of Political Science founded in Paris, in 1872, is the second of the two free establishments of higher education which have prospered in France without the support or patronage of the Government. It is now the only one that has remained independent. The first and older institution, the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, after thirty years of a successful and independent career, has gone over to the State. It is now one of the official institutions.

Object of the school.—The object the founders of this school had in view is characteristically set forth in the following extracts, taken chiefly from a publication which has received the adhesion of Messrs. Guizot, Laboulaye, and Taine, and from the text of that adhesion.

“There is, in France, a specially organised system of education for engineers, medical men, barristers. but no such thing exists for political men. Is this an evil? or are we to believe that natural gifts, and the practice of business, without the help of special training, are sufficient to provide the number of political men of whom the country has need?”

“Assuredly what has been termed ‘the divine part of the art of governing,’ is not taught by lectures. It is a gift from Providence to a privileged few. But this ‘divine part’

* See p. 200–201.

itself has a greater effect on those who are gifted with it when they have already mastered the 'human part' of the same art, and when they are fully acquainted with the positive elements comprised in the auxiliary branches of political science."

"Besides, the greatest advantage of an organised system of education with regard to this subject is not to train statesmen, but a number of enlightened men to co-operate with statesmen. In France, when a man of superior ability gets to power, he feels the want of competent assistants. He is surrounded by officials who know admirably the work they have to perform ; but who know nothing beyond, and whose only efforts tend to fetter their chief by office routine. Again, beyond this immediate surrounding, he sees the nation led by the middle classes. But even the most highly educated men of these classes have had no special political training ; they are not able to understand the delays and contradictions which constitute the very essence of the spirit of government, and still less to explain to others the dangers of pretended simplicity and logic in the government of nations. Whilst the officials, not having had a comprehensive education, are inclined to exaggerate their narrow red-tapeism, the middle and lower classes spend their lives in exchanging conservative *commonplaces* for revolutionary *commonplaces* ; at the same time keeping at a wide distance from positive, enlightened, and far-seeing politics. What we particularly want in France, is a number of middle-class men able to guide public opinion. In this army of citizens there is nothing between the general and the soldiers ; very few officers, and hardly any sub-officers. No doubt it would be a fortunate revolution if we could train every year four or five hundred men, imbued with political knowledge, men qualified to obtain a hearing, and able to prove by argument that all questions are difficult, and most solutions complex. An organised system of education for statesmen would, besides, give to the country that educated and judicious middle class which gives stability to a democratic society."

The threefold aim of this school, therefore, is :

1. To train political men armed more especially with the positive knowledge which they may require when in Parliament, or in power.

2. To train civil servants more capable of taking a comprehensive view of things, and of avoiding routine.

3 To develop in the middle classes a proper understanding of public interests, and a knowledge of the conditions under which government is carried on.

Organisation.—The courses of lessons and lectures, twenty-five in number, are divided under four sections, each of which corresponds to a group of professions. The *administrative* section, in which are trained future members of the Council of State, prefects, sub-prefects, and members of provincial assemblies, has five courses of lessons on constitutional law, administration, and finance, supplemented by lectures on political economy, statistics, and parliamentary and legislative history.

The *economic and financial* section comprises the same subjects, except constitutional law and parliamentary history, but with the addition of economic geography, comparative commercial legislation, conventional international law, and the principles of public accounts. This section is destined for the training of the financial agents of the State, and of the men who are to be called upon to hold leading positions in banking firms, and in the management of railways.

The *diplomatic* section is destined for the training of future political and consular representatives of France abroad. The fundamental subjects of studies are : ethnography, diplomatic history from 1648 to the present time, the state of contemporary Europe, and the law of nations. Economic geography, conventional international law, the comparative commercial legislation, and military organisation of European nations are the subjects of secondary lessons.

Lastly, the *public law and historical* section is especially destined for men who wish to enter Parliament and public

life. The teaching in this section comprises the general subjects of the other sections, to which is added comparative civil law. It is, as a matter of course, the most comprehensive and varied section ; for diplomatic traditions, finance, constitutional law, as well as political economy, European geography, and the law of nations, are equally indispensable to the members of a governing and legislative assembly.

The teaching comprises lessons "*cours*," and lectures "*conférences*." The lessons are devoted to the general features of each subject ; the lectures are familiar lessons, master and students seated round a table examine various documents—budgets, diplomatic documents, special statistics—comment upon their tenour, discuss the figures, submit their objections, and solve the difficulties raised by common discussion. The lectures have given excellent results ; they give the student an opportunity of dealing with original facts, and of deriving knowledge from them under the guidance of the masters ; they develop their political sense, and accustom them to professional practice. And whilst they relieve the lessons from minute details, which would only make the subjects more complicated, and the great principles less clear, they keep the teaching at a proper level. A practical check immediately corrects inconsiderate views, and prevents rash doctrines from being adopted as would be the case if there were lessons only. Practically, the combined system of lessons and lectures has proved the surest means of preventing the teaching of imprudent doctrines.

The course of studies extends over two years. There is a final examination in each section, and the students can undergo part of this examination at the end of the first year. The successful competitors receive a diploma from the school. Every five years a "prize" of five thousand francs is given with the object of enabling the ablest students to undertake a journey of study and enquiry. The students who have obtained a diploma alone can compete for this prize.

From its foundation the school has been open to students of all countries, and many foreigners have availed themselves of the facilities afforded to them. They form about *one ninth* of the students. Nothing can be better calculated to make young men understand the characteristic differences in various nations than the surprise and the questions to which the teaching gives rise on the part of foreigners, and from this point of view an international character is particularly indispensable in a school of this kind. Besides, it has the advantage of establishing among future diplomats friendly relations which may ultimately further their official relations, when they will have to defend abroad the interests of their respective countries.

An equally important point for a school of political science is that it should be independent of the government. On this subject the director of the school said in a pamphlet published in 1881, that, "The State is an important person whose movements are closely watched, whose acts are criticised, and involve responsibilities. Everything is expected to be done by the State, and yet people have not eyes enough to discover some defects in whatever the State does. It can never, without objection, patronise any school of political science. In order to avoid stormy discussions it will have to limit the teaching, to fetter it to some extent, and to suppress certain subjects. We have been told that at one time the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had entertained the idea of establishing lectures on diplomatic history. The idea was soon given up. Perhaps it had been seen that if the professor was under the authority of a State Department, the department would be held responsible for his words, and that he would have to use the reticent and circumspect language which is customary in the conduct of foreign affairs. What kind of teaching could be carried on under such conditions without being weakened and wanting in spirit."

It must be added that the teaching of political science is of recent origin in Europe. Much remains to be done in the way of experiments and improvements, and

unforeseen successes or disappointments may be met with. All these experiments are the very essence of progress. Now, the State, being omnipotent, cannot permit institutions placed under its patronage to risk experiments the result of which is uncertain, and can only venture on safe ground. Finally, it is indispensable that in the selection of professors who are to teach such varied subjects, some of which are so recent, and connected with practical politics, the authorities should not be fettered by any qualification of degree or rank, and should be free to apply to the man considered or thought to be the ablest, without having to reckon with the exigencies of any party. It would be hopeless to expect this from a government obliged on the one part to reckon with numerous regulations, and on the other with the feelings of the majority by which it is supported. These considerations have induced the School of Political Science to decline the overtures made to it by the State, and to remain independent.

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